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**Colonial Encounters during the First World War
The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies**

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Colonial Encounters during the First World War:
The Experience of Troops from
New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
King's College London

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Abstract

This thesis offers a sustained comparative analysis of colonial encounters during the First World War by examining the experience of troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies. While the war is usually understood as a military clash of empires, the thesis argues that it also created fresh spaces for a range of encounters as diverse groups were thrown together. These encounters varied from fleeting interactions to more sustained relationships in changing contact-zones dependent on military mobilisation. While race remains the primary focus in the thesis, the analysis is also nuanced to other categories, such as class, gender, and combatant/civilian status.

In the recent 'global' turn in First World War studies, more has been learnt about colonial participation and the impact of empire. If much of the work has focussed on particular national or ethnic groups, this thesis adopts a comparative and at times transnational approach to make lateral connections between the colonial groups and their represented experiences. The thesis investigates how the structures and hierarchies of colonialism operated once dislocated by the movements of war, disclosing the complex lived realities of colonial cultures in times of war.

The thesis draws upon document and photograph collections at the Imperial War Museum, alongside other archival collections, as well as memoirs, oral testimonies, newspapers, magazines and literary works, and often reads them together in order to recover and analyse this complex history. Many of the non-white troops were non-literate and the subsequent paucity of written material necessitates this broader interdisciplinary approach.

Encounters represent a central element of the represented war service of the colonial troops in the source material. The concentration on encounters in this thesis, through the perspective of cultural history, reveals how war challenged and changed identity beyond the space of the battlefield.

Table of Contents

Abstract		3
Table of Contents		4
Acknowledgements		5
Abbreviations		7
List of Figures		8
Introduction		10
Section One	Going to War	28
Chapter One	Contexts	29
Chapter Two	The Journey	53
Section Two	Military Men	80
Chapter Three	At Camp	81
Chapter Four	Exploring the Sights	120
Section Three	Race and Gender	162
Chapter Five	Behind the Lines	163
Chapter Six	On the Wards	200
Conclusion		232
Appendix		255
Bibliography		263

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Abbreviations

AIF	Australian Imperial Force
ANZAC/Anzac	Australian and New Zealand Army Corps
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington
AWMM	Auckland War Memorial Museum
AWM	Australian War Memorial
ANZ	Archives New Zealand, Wellington
BWIR	British West Indies Regiment
CO	Colonial Office
IWM	Imperial War Museum
NAMNZ	National Army Museum, New Zealand
NCO	Non-commissioned officer
NZEF	New Zealand Expeditionary Force
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
SANLC	South African Native Labour Corps
SAIB	South African Infantry Brigade
VD	Venereal Disease
VAD	Voluntary Aid Detachment
WIR	West India Regiment
WO	War Office

List of Figures

Table 1. Total of British and British Empire Troops and Casualties.	30
Table 2. Military Contribution of the British Empire in the Great War.	30
The Empire Needs Men, First World War Recruitment Poster. (Courtesy of Imperial War Museums, London)	31
Map 1. The Sailing Routes of the Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies. (Courtesy of Google Maps)	55
Men of the Australian and New Zealand Division on a transport ship to Gallipoli, 1915. (Courtesy of Imperial War Museums, London)	61
Sunset over tents at the New Zealand reinforcement camp, Étaples, France. (Courtesy of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington)	81
The South African Native Labour Corps doing a ‘Zulu war dance’. (Courtesy of the Imperial War Museum, London,)	111
Maori Pioneer Battalion performing a haka. (Courtesy of Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington)	113
New Zealand YMCA Party at the Zoo, London. (Courtesy of Auckland War Memorial Museum)	120
New Zealanders Visit Sphinx and the Pyramids. (Courtesy of Australian War Memorial)	129
Exterior of Shepherd’s Hotel. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)	135
New Zealand troops, led by an army band, marching through a London street after the First World War. (Courtesy of Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington)	149
Maoris being entertained by Egyptian kids. (Courtesy of Australian War Memorial)	168
A New Zealand Soldier with two little children on Lemnos. (Courtesy of Imperial War Museums, Q13441)	169
‘As Others See Us’ by G. P. Hanna. (Courtesy of Imperial War Museums)	172

Anzac Falls in Love and Marries his Nurse. (Courtesy of the British Library)	179
The Market Woman. (Courtesy of the New Zealand Electronic Text Collection)	184
A Maori lumber worker talking to a Frenchwoman, Foret de Nieppe, March 1917. (Courtesy of Imperial War Museums, Q4740)	185
The Maori and his English Bride. (Courtesy of the British Library)	187
A Dusky Lady-Killer. (Courtesy of the British Library)	193
‘A Helping Hand’ (Courtesy of the New Zealand Electronic Text Collection)	208
Extract from one of two nurse’s autograph books. (Courtesy of Imperial War Museum, London)	217
Photograph of Alison Mullineaux. (Courtesy of Imperial War Museums)	222
The Chalk Kiwi near Sling Camp. (Courtesy of Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington)	234

Introduction

We used to be on parade by nine am, and some days would march easy to one of the salt lakes connected by the Suez Canal, and have a swim and it was alright. One day when having a swim, two companies of troops from Jamaica came down and it looked funny to see these fine bodied coloured men, for they were as black as coal, in the water with us chaps, and it wasn't very long before we were the best of friends. Other days we would have a picnic as they called it. We would go over to one of the sweet water canals and lay under the shade of the trees, telling yarns or playing card till evening time and then we would come back to camp.¹

William Barry was one among the thousands of men from the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) who were stationed at Mena Training Camp from December 1914, just outside Cairo, where they were close enough to act as reinforcements for the Suez Canal. There, Barry encountered the 'fine bodied coloured men' of the British West Indies Regiment (BWIR). Three battalions of the BWIR arrived in Egypt in late 1915 and early 1916, where they were stationed at Mex Camp, a previous defensive fort near Alexandria. In Barry's diary, the recorded service of these two very different colonial groups overlapped when, in 1916, the Australians swam in the Suez Canal and were joined by the Jamaican men with whom they became 'the best of friends'. This diary entry, now transcribed and held in the collections of the Imperial War Museum (IWM), opens up the hidden world of colonial encounters during the First World War. Barry's description of the encounter reveals the complex themes that will surface throughout this thesis: camp life, men and masculinity, bodies, contact zones, racial distinctions, vulnerability and human connection. In this introduction, I establish the frameworks for exploring colonial encounters during a time of global conflict.² When and where did encounters happen, and between whom? How were they represented? What do

¹ IWM, Documents 15006, Diary of William Barry, p. 27.

² Detailed historical contexts and historiography about the participation of New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies during the war are outlined separately in Chapter One: how the forces were formed, enlistment and patterns of mobilisation, existing military and other relevant cultures and dynamics in these countries. This separation serves to avoid disrupting the momentum of the introduction, which demonstrates the critical context for this study, and to give sufficient space to the vast literature relating to these individual countries.

they tell us about the broader structures and hierarchies of colonialism and race during the First World War, as well as shared moments of intimacy?

In the first study of its kind, this thesis offers a sustained comparative and transnational analysis of colonial encounters during the First World War. While the war is usually understood as a military clash of empires, the thesis argues that it also created fresh spaces for a range of encounters as diverse groups – soldiers and civilians, men and women, white and non-white people – were thrown together.³ These encounters varied – from fleeting interactions to more sustained relationships – and took place in flexible contact-zones dependent on the ever-changing patterns of mobilisation. The thesis examines the experience of troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies in comparison.⁴ All three groups are defined as colonial in this research. Each of these colonial groups was very different with complicated racial dynamics and asymmetries. They held different positions within the British Empire and were mobilised differently during the First World War. The research breaks down the national boundaries that are so often in place in both studies of imperialism and in First World War studies to make lateral connections and comparisons between these diverse groups. As a result, multiple, difficult variables are introduced into the analysis: race primarily, but also national categories, class, gender, professional roles and the theatres of war, which formed the backdrop for these men's service.⁵ The protagonists were

³ This research has been undertaken while I have been a member of the Humanities in the European Research Area (HERA) funded project, Cultural Exchange in a Time of Global Conflict: Colonials, Neutrals and Belligerents (CEGC) <<http://www.cegcproject.eu>> [accessed: 2 August 2016]. Many of the aims of this PhD studentship overlap with the work undertaken by the CEGC project. White and non-white are used as to make general distinctions throughout this thesis. While the term 'non-white' is problematic because it defines people by what they are not, it helps to encompass the variety of racial and ethnic backgrounds of those troops included in this thesis. When these groups are nationally defined, Maori or black is used to recognise the political traction of these terms and their cultural significance.

⁴ The historical contexts for each of these groups are illustrated in depth in Chapter One but each was selected for their distinct status within the British Empire and their distinct mobilisation during the First World War.

⁵ The categories of 'race', 'gender', 'class' and 'nation' all have 'historically located and discursively specific meanings' that could indicate a need to keep them within inverted commas throughout the text. The continual recurrence of these terms throughout this thesis, however, would mean so many inverted commas as to make the text difficult to read and so they have been left out, but the thesis should be read with this in mind. Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002), p. 22.

all men in the military, which provides something of a stable component. The thesis argues that by studying the encounters of the First World War, the densely knotted operations of colonialism during a global conflict can be disentangled to some degree. Colonial discourse was subjected to constant manipulation and challenge through the dislocation of empire during the war. This thesis reveals how these power dynamics and tensions were made and remade through the personal encounters of the First World War.

Cultural Encounters

The turn towards histories of cultural and colonial encounters in recent years is fundamental to this research. The fields of research on encounters, entanglement, 'histoire croisée', transnational networks and knotted histories are growing and the terms are used interchangeably and employed for different ends.⁶ Their very 'slipperiness' can be problematic, yet what they highlight are the points of connection and contact between cultures and nations, and the frequently asymmetric nature of such interactions.⁷ Examining the scope and quality of encounters between different groups has been used to understand power dynamics and political interests, but also the individual intellectual and social 'yields' from these points of exchange.⁸ The crossing of borders between various spaces in all kinds of encounters reveal how the actors in these interactions 'perceived, influenced, stamped, and constituted one another'.⁹

⁶ *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History* ed. by Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005); *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* ed. by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1997); Kris Manjapara, *Age of Entanglement: German and Indian Intellectuals across Empire* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London: Harvard University Press, 2014); Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmerman, 'Beyond Comparison: Histoire croisée and the challenge of reflexivity', *History and Theory*, 45 (2006).

⁷ *Transcultural Encounters between Germany and India: Kindred spirits in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries* ed. by Joanne Miyang Cho, Eric Kurlander, and Douglas T. McGetchin (New York, Oxford: Routledge, 2014), p. 3; *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives* ed. by Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2009), p. 2.

⁸ Manjapara, p. 6.

⁹ Haupt and Kocka, p. 20.

The focus on connections and networks is particularly important in creating histories of colonialism and empire that do not rely upon binaries of metropole and periphery.¹⁰ Conceiving of the British Empire as a web, for instance, both emphasises the structural nature of the empire and the various networks that existed between its disparate points that allowed colonies, cities or communities to occupy multiple positions.¹¹ The web structure is useful, too, when thinking about where encounters could happen: where did different strands of the imperial structure meet? Where did the ‘cultural traffic’ of empire cross?¹² Mary Louise Pratt has usefully described the places where colonial cultures and nations have intersected as ‘contact zones’: places where those previously separated by geography and history come into contact and instigate relations that continue and develop.¹³ While Pratt’s ‘contact zone’ could be synonymous with colonial frontiers, the new term also allowed the point of view to shift from European expansion to a perspective where the geographical location and the activity that created the contact became much more flexible, allowing a range of perspectives and experiences to become possible, a space for subjectivity.¹⁴ This understanding of encounters and their spaces contradicts the idea of a binary division between colonizers and colonized, allowing for further complexity within colonial relations.¹⁵ While Pratt asserts that the interactions within ‘contact zones’ usually involved conditions of ‘coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict’, Antoinette Burton’s work reveals the more complicated nature of imperial power relations that could be challenged by colonial encounters.¹⁶ As Burton writes, ‘presumptions about racism and the experience of colonialism often function as unelaborated givens in histories of the British Empire.’¹⁷ While the racism enacted by colonialism will be demonstrated fully throughout this thesis, it will be elaborated upon to understand the specific spaces and pressures of interracial encounters. The potential of encounters to

¹⁰ Tony Ballantyne, *Between Colonialism and Diaspora: Sikh Colonial Formations in an Imperial World* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), p. 30.

¹¹ Ballantyne, *Between Colonialism and Diaspora*, p. 31.

¹² Ballantyne, *Between Colonialism and Diaspora*, p. 30.

¹³ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 2008 (Second Edition)), p. 8

¹⁴ Pratt, p. 8.

¹⁵ Antoinette Burton, *At the Heart of Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late-Victorian Britain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), p. 22

¹⁶ Burton, *At the Heart of Empire*, p. 22.

¹⁷ Burton, *At the Heart of Empire*, p. 189.

simultaneously assert the strength of the existing order and challenge its enactment, through contact, conflict and collaboration, offers a more intricate understanding, which will be adopted within this research.

Entangled and intercultural colonial histories extend to the archives where they are recovered and how collections are accessed and used. Colonial archives were created in response to cross-cultural interactions, whether through official documentation or more personal reflections: they are ‘archives of entanglement’ created through processes of interaction, encounter and exchange and in which colonial knowledge and experience is situated.¹⁸ I remain hesitant about the potential of accounting for both indigenous and colonial worlds as ‘an entwined reality’ within archival sources, as this neglects, to an extent, the uneven power dynamics upon which these interactions developed.¹⁹ Yet there remains a great deal of methodological possibility within the framework of encounter to disentangle elements of indigenous, or non-white experience, from within the broader structures of colonial power. There are dangers, too, within the study of cross-cultural encounters. The charms of encounters – intimate, evocative, tender – have a tendency to obscure the asymmetries of power at play and the colonial discourses which frame them as cross-cultural, cross-racial and cross-national.²⁰ There can be an inclination to become absorbed in what seems like, and can be, genuine human connection, but this thesis attends to the colonial structures within which these moments occurred.

The First World War

¹⁸ Ricardo Roque and Kim A. Wagner, *Engaging Colonial Knowledge. Reading European Archives in World History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 19.

¹⁹ Roque and Wagner, p. 19; Tony Ballantyne, ‘Rereading the Archive and Opening up the Nation State: Colonial Knowledge in South Asia (and Beyond)’, *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking With and Through the Nation* ed. by Antoinette Burton (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003), p. 102.

²⁰ Manjapara, p. 6.

The First World War was a time of global conflict and crisis. The British Empire mobilised troops from its colonies and dominions throughout the war's duration.²¹ The empire on the move became an empire dislocated, as colonial subjects were brought from the periphery into other colonial settings and, for some, into the centre.²² At the outbreak of the war, Britain did not immediately call upon all of its colonial populations as additional support in what was perceived to be a white man's war.²³ Britain's early deployment of the British Indian Army to Europe in 1914 opened up, though, the possibility of other non-white troops being sent to the Western Front, alongside the populations of the white dominions, further necessitated by manpower requirements across the global theatres of war.²⁴ Over the course of the war, over four million non-white people were mobilised.²⁵ The British Empire's structure changed for the war's duration, equalling its disruptive effect on class and gender.²⁶

First World War studies have recently seen a shift from international scholars of multiple disciplines to recognise and investigate colonial participation and to reinsert the 'world' into the war.²⁷ The worldwide centenary commemorations over the last three years have provided a backdrop to the surge in academic impetus to understand the global First World War.²⁸ This impetus has created an expanding and innovative multi-disciplinary field through which Euro-centric perspectives are being challenged. The pioneering work of historians like David

²¹ *Race, Empire and First World War Writing* ed. by Santanu Das (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 4.

²² Das, *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, p. 4.

²³ Das, *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, p. 3.

²⁴ Das, *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, p. 4.

²⁵ Das, *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, p. 4.

²⁶ *Borderlines: Gender and Identities in War and Peace, 1879-1930*, ed. by Billie Melman, (New York: Routledge, 1998), p. 2.

²⁷ 'Introduction', *The World in World Wars: Experiences, Perceptions and Perspectives from Africa and Asia* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), ed. by Ravi Ahuja and others, p. 5.

²⁸ The World during the First World War conference in Berlin, 2009, set the tone for the centenary years by establishing the need to capture the global dimensions of the First World War, and to focus on the conflict as a global event with far reaching consequences. Many of the ideas were developed and adapted in our own HERA project, as well as by the HERA project, Making War, Mapping Europe: Militarized Cultural Encounters, 1792-1920 <<http://www.mwme.eu>>, 1914-1918 online <<http://www.1914-1918-online.net>>, the Globalising and Localising the Great War research network <<http://greatwar.history.ox.ac.uk>> alongside many other conferences, workshops and seminars. [accessed: 16 March 2016].

Killingray and David Omissi laid foundations not only in approach but method.²⁹ Changing global perspectives of the war have included military and strategic histories, as in the work of Hew Strachan on Africa or of Timothy Winegard on indigenous populations mobilised by Britain. Christopher Pugsley (New Zealand), Glenford Howe (the West Indies) and Bill Nasson (South Africa) have based their social histories of colonial experience largely on individual national groupings.³⁰

The global turn has mirrored, too, the second wave of First World War studies' attempts to capture the experience of war for individual participants.³¹ Rather than focusing on the British Tommy in the trenches of the Western Front, the experiences of women, of civilians on the home front, and of colonial troops have increasingly come to the fore.³² The voices and experiences of colonial troops are being examined using deep analytical frameworks, adding to unit and national military histories to create better understandings of the lives of Indian sepoy, East African askaris or Egyptian labourers at war.³³ Richard Smith's study of Jamaican volunteers, for example, locates aspects of the experiences of the British West Indies Regiment within a broader exploration of developing national consciousness: my study

²⁹ David Killingray 'The Idea of a British Imperial African Army', *Journal of African History*, 20 (1979); *Guardians of empire: the armed forces of the colonial powers c. 1700-1964* ed. by David Killingray and David Omissi (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

³⁰ Hew Strachan, *The First World War in Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); John H. JR Morrow, *The Great War: An Imperial History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004); Richard Fogarty, *Race and War in France: Colonial Subjects in the French Army, 1914-1918* (Washington: John Hopkins University Press, 2008); Timothy C. Winegard, *Indigenous peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Christopher Pugsley, *On the Fringe of Hell: New Zealanders and Military Discipline in the First World War* (Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1991); Glenford Deroy Howe, *Race, War and Nationalism: a social history of West Indians in the First World War* (London: Ian Randle, 2002); Albert Grundlingh, *Fighting Their Own War: South African Blacks and the First World War* (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1987).

³¹ Alexander Watson, *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Morale and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); James E. Kitchen, *The British Imperial Army in the Middle East. Morale and Military Identity in the Sinai and Palestine Campaigns, 1916-18* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014); Michael Roper, *The Secret Battle: Emotional Survival in the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

³² *First World War Nursing: New Perspectives* ed. by Alison S. Fell and Christine E. Hallett (New York and Oxford: Routledge, 2013); Margaret H. Darrow, 'French Volunteer Nursing and the Myth of War Experience in World War I', *American Historical Review*, 101 (1996); Gail Braybon and Penny Summerfield, *Out of the Cage: Women's Experiences in Two World Wars* (London: Pandora, 1987).

³³ David Omissi, *Indian Voices of the Great War* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1999); Timothy Parsons, 'All Askaris Are Family Men: Sex, Domesticity and Discipline in the King's African Rifles, 1902-1964', *Guardians of Empire* ed. by Killingray and Omissi; Ellis Goldberg, 'Peasants in Revolt – Egypt, 1919', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 24, 2 (1992).

returns in detail to some of the accounts Smith uses to delve deeper into the personal ramifications of colonial encounters.³⁴ Similarly, the collective essays in Santanu Das' edited volume, *Race, War and First World War Writing*, have revealed the potential of detailed investigation into the motives and actions of colonial experience and the emotional worlds of those involved.³⁵ Chapters investigating representations of 'otherness' during the war, prisoner of war camps as a space for encounter and interactions between white women and colonial troops have demonstrated how colonial experiences can be marshalled for broader arguments about the discourses of empire, including those revolving around hierarchies of race, masculinity and miscegenation.³⁶ What this work has yet to do in depth is to move beyond national or ethnic boundaries to make direct comparisons between multiple groups in these spaces, thus allowing shared resonances of colonial experience to surface. By reading the experiences of New Zealanders, South Africans and West Indians together and drawing out the tensions illuminated by this comparison, this thesis offers a critical intervention in the field of First World War Studies and its growing global focus.

Encounters and the First World War

This research has taken up the mantle of new developments in both cultural studies and First World War studies to act on the simultaneous urges to analyse encounters, to make transnational connections and comparisons and to better understand global experience of the war. The turn towards global history has advanced interest in asymmetric and entangled relations between various actors and spaces, just as in First World War studies.³⁷ The historically specific colonial encounters at war were the direct product of the military clashes and movements of empire that simultaneously produced fresh spaces for diverse groups of

³⁴ Richard Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers During the First World War: Race, Masculinity and the Development of National Consciousness* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

³⁵ Das, *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, pp. 13-14.

³⁶ Christian Koller, 'Representing Otherness: African, Indian and European soldiers' letters and memoirs', in *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, p. 128; Heather Jones, 'Imperial captivities: colonial prisoners of war in Germany and the Ottoman empire, 1914-1918' in *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, p. 175; Alison S. Fell, 'Nursing the Other: the representation of colonial troops in French and British First World War nursing memoirs', in *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, p. 158.

³⁷ Haupt and Kocka, p. 19.

people to meet.³⁸ Colonial regimes were never finished but were ongoing processes and the encounters of the First World War could disrupt and contest colonialism even as it mobilised and marshalled thousands from across the globe.³⁹ This was a pertinent moment, where racial differences and hierarchies, colonialism and the ‘realities’ of the empire were illuminated because of the more frequent transgression of imperial boundaries. The ‘respective empires’ of the First World War ‘ceased to be the all-encompassing spatial frames of reference’ as they engaged in the conflict.⁴⁰ Expressions of colonialism were amplified by the global setting of the First World War.⁴¹ Making lateral connections between numerous colonial groups at once and demonstrating the ‘inherently relational’ nature of the empire discloses the complex lived experiences of colonial cultures at this time.⁴²

Inhabiting the theoretical frameworks of cultural encounters developed by Mary Louise Pratt, Antoinette Burton and Kris Manjapara, the research does not straightforwardly apply these understandings to the First World War. Where the war has been seen as a focal point and crossroads in the discussions of race, gender, nationality and class, this thesis demonstrates the specific personal encounters in which these discourses were tested.⁴³ While these encounters resulted from top-level military strategy and planning, the focus of this research is on the personal, the spaces where, further down the hierarchy, different groups came together. The different variables at stake in encounters are difficult to manage and constantly shifting: there are very few neat correlations to be drawn. As such the research is anchored *within* these moments of personal interaction, moving *without* to scrutinise the colonial frameworks that influenced their process. The thesis privileges the personal testimonies of lived experience but allows them, too, to contribute to theories about cultural and colonial encounters. The power dynamics of the British Empire create the contextual setting for the

³⁸ Burton, *At the Heart of Empire*, p. 1.

³⁹ Antoinette Burton, *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 1.

⁴⁰ *The World in World Wars* ed. by Ahuja and others, p. 20.

⁴¹ Annabelle Melzer, ‘Spectacles and Sexualities: The ‘Mise-en-Scene’ of the ‘Tirailleur Senegalais’ on the Western Front, 1914-1920’, *Borderlines* ed. by Melman, p. 214.

⁴² Ballantyne, *Between Empire and Diaspora*, p. 30.

⁴³ Melman, *Borderlines*, p. 2.

exploration, while the analysis particularly advances understandings of the experiential aspects of the encounters. As Hermione Lee has remarked,

When we are reading other forms of life-writing [...] or when we are trying ourselves to tell the story of a life, whether in an obituary, or in a conversation, or in a confession, or in a book – we are always drawn to moments of intimacy, revelation or particular inwardness.⁴⁴

The emotions evoked in these moments and captured by personal reflection add an additional layer to the historical aspects of these encounters. At the centre is how these personal encounters affected identity, in a flexible, discursive and symbolic conception that was formed by ‘the outside’ and the interconnections and distinctions experienced in encounter.⁴⁵ When discourses about racial hierarchies, masculinity, sexuality and martial races became entangled in the encounters of the First World War, and the colonial troops interacted with multiple ‘others’, ‘the outside’ became more complex and required reflection on identity, both individually and collectively.⁴⁶

The research contributes, too, to growing understandings of the process of globalization, a result of the diverse cultural encounters across time and space.⁴⁷ The movements of the colonial troops during the First World War represented further links within the webs of empire and colonialism across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The war saw forms of ‘forced migration’ as well as ‘temporary migration’ in the sharpest sense of the terms through the mobilisation of the colonies and in the colonial theatres of war.⁴⁸ The individual trajectories of the troops mapped across the world brought them in to contact with other peoples, cultures and places, not as ‘atomised’ individuals, but with their own forms of

⁴⁴ Hermione Lee, *Body Parts: Essays on Life Writing* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2005), p. 3.

⁴⁵ Catherine Hall, ‘What did a British World mean to the British? Reflections on the Nineteenth Century’, *Rediscovering the British World* ed. by Philip Buckner and Douglas Francis (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2005), p. 23.

⁴⁶ Jessica Meyer, *Men of War: Masculinity and the First World War in Britain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 164. Chapter Three explores theories of martial races in greater detail, building on the work of Heather Streets, *Martial Races: the military, race and masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

⁴⁷ Antoinette Burton, ‘Not Even Remotely Global? Method and Scale in World History’, *History Workshop Journal*, 64, (2007), 324; *Bodies in Contact* ed. by Ballantyne and Burton, p. 2.

⁴⁸ Claude Markovits, ‘Indian Soldiers’ Experiences in France during World War I: Seeing Europe from the Rear of the Front’, *The World in World Wars* ed. by Ahuja and others, p. 29.

intellectual or cultural baggage.⁴⁹ Globalization and ‘cosmopolitanism’ is increasingly understood from transnational experiences ‘that are particular rather than universal and that are unprivileged’.⁵⁰ The historical trajectories and movement of the colonial troops, who volunteered, were conscripted or were coerced into service, occurred during a specific period of global upheaval that had impacts beyond the years of the war.

This is not a comprehensive study – the research is spatially, geographically and chronologically limited. The project is temporally bounded by the years 1914 to 1918. It focuses on the participation of three specific colonial groups and, within these, the experience of certain individuals: the numerous variables at stake make further comparison unmanageable. There are already difficulties in managing both comparative and transnational histories at once: there are different logics in separating units to compare them and stressing their connections in entanglement-oriented approaches.⁵¹ The research attempts to move ‘beyond comparison’ to embed the comparative analysis here within the broader and more entangled process of encounters.⁵² The scale of comparison is reduced to the individual and personal.⁵³ While the personal is privileged within this study, these micro-histories turn against Anglo- or Euro-centric conceptions of both the war and the world.⁵⁴ By using the ‘translocal’ processes and identities recorded in the troops’ accounts, the thesis is able to interrogate national and colonial power structures.⁵⁵

Method

This thesis is based on intensive archival research. The research has drawn upon the private documents and largely official photograph collections at IWM, alongside other archival

⁴⁹ Ravi Ahuja, ‘The Corrosiveness of Comparison’, *The World in World Wars* ed. by Ahuja and others, pp. 157-58.

⁵⁰ *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation* ed. by Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), p. 1.

⁵¹ Haupt and Kocka, p. 19.

⁵² Haupt and Kocka, p. 21.

⁵³ Werner and Zimmerman, 34.

⁵⁴ Burton, ‘Not Even Remotely Global?’, 326.

⁵⁵ Burton, ‘Not Even Remotely Global?’, 326.

collections of letters and diaries, including some in New Zealand.⁵⁶ Memoirs, oral testimonies, newspapers, magazines and literary works have also formed the foundations for this investigation and the thesis often reads these multiple genres together in order to investigate this complex history. The limited material available in some cases has been a challenge to this research and has necessitated this interdisciplinary and wide-ranging approach for each of the three colonial groups, using the inclusive methodology of life writing.⁵⁷ Where initial research uncovered numerous letters and diaries for the white soldiers from New Zealand and South Africa, finding the same type of personal representations for the non-white troops proved exceptionally difficult. The paucity of material for the non-white colonial troops who served during the First World War partly relates to how many of these men served: more than 2,000 Maori in the Maori Contingent and Pioneer Battalion, over 15,000 from the West Indies in the BWIR, and around 25,000 men in the South African Native Labour Corps (SANLC) – around 21,000 of whom served in France – in comparison to the almost 100,000 white New Zealanders who served.⁵⁸ Many of the men of the Maori contingents and in the SANLC came from oral cultures, rather than text based, which have limited the availability of accounts of their experiences in written archives. Many of the non-white men did not speak English. Translators were used in the SANLC for communications between officers and the men, for example, due to the various tribal groups from which the force was drawn.⁵⁹ Illiteracy rates among recruits, as in the British army and particularly among the black SANLC troops and the BWIR, also affect the number of diaries and letters

⁵⁶ I am extremely grateful for the funding made available to me by Imperial War Museums and the research grant from the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at King's College, London, which enabled my archival research trip to New Zealand. This was particularly important in accessing Maori source material. Unfortunately due to the limited time of the project I was unable to make similar visits to South Africa and the West Indies but have made every effort to access the material available within the UK.

⁵⁷ Life writing includes: 'autobiography, memoirs, letters, diaries, journals (written and documentary), anthropological data, oral testimony, and eyewitness accounts. It is not only a literary or historical specialism, but is relevant across the arts and sciences, and can involve philosophers, psychologists, sociologists, ethnographers and anthropologists.' Oxford Centre for Life Writing <<https://oxlifewriting.wordpress.com/about/>> [accessed: 16 March 2016].

⁵⁸ See Table 1, p. 30.

⁵⁹ Norman Clothier, *Black Valour: The South African Native Labour Contingent, 1916-1918 and the Sinking of the Mendi* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1987), p. 12.

left.⁶⁰ The unevenness of the source material, too, relates to the power structures at play during and after the war. The racist restrictions placed upon these men would influence their need to record their experience and their desire to retain memories of their war service. As labourers, rather than soldiers, many of the non-white experiences of the war found their very service excluded from the post-war narratives, as the contemporary understanding of the conflict relied on service through combat. Equally, collecting and archiving policies for decades focussed solely on the white experience and created an imbalance between white sources and non-white sources. This imbalance has necessitated the use of creative methodologies to research colonial experiences: Joe Lunn's capture of Senegalese oral histories and Santanu Das's analysis of words, objects and images in interaction have revealed the vast potential of interdisciplinary, social and cultural approaches to finding hidden, lost or forgotten experiences.⁶¹ There are archival absences, gaps and empty spaces to be negotiated within the comparative framework of this research and this has therefore required the consultation of other types of sources, used to piece together representations of encounter. This thesis has therefore been unable to recover complete lives and experiences, but instead navigates the fragments that remain enmeshed in these various genres, sites where interracial interaction has been referenced and archived.⁶²

The use of alternative sources, including photographs, transcribed oral testimonies and fiction, has proved extremely valuable in gathering the fragments of colonial experience. This interdisciplinary approach has, though, created many problems in navigating the complexity of the individual genres and the difficulties of reading these together. Oral testimonies, recorded, transcribed and even published, like that of SANLC veteran Stimela Jason Jingoos, are understood as a construction of memory – affected by time, contextual cultures of

⁶⁰ Glenford Howe, 'Military Selection and Civilian Health: Recruiting West Indians for World War', *Caribbean Quarterly*, 44, 36.

⁶¹ Joe Lunn, *Memoirs of the maelstrom: a Senegalese oral history of the First World War* (New Hampshire: Heinemann, 1999); Santanu Das, 'Reframing life/war "writing": objects, letters and songs of Indian soldiers, 1914–1918, *Textual Practice*, 29, 7 (2015).

⁶² Antoinette Burton, *Brown Over Black: Race and the Politics of Postcolonial Citation* (Gurgaon: Three Essays Collective, 2012), p. 30.

remembering and story telling, and the circumstances of the interview.⁶³ How do changing sensitivities towards the colonial context affect the later construction of memory in these testimonies? Fictional stories, often written by soldiers and veterans, or their families, are equally understood as a constructed form of representation, in service of particular narratives and audiences: do they reveal more intimate details about war service disguised in fiction or does the creative narrative take precedence? Photographs have become an important part of this research in filling the gaps in the non-white experience, using both official and private collections.⁶⁴ The ambivalence of visual images as claims of authentic representation means deconstructing them in the same way as the textual sources: photographs are read as sites of intercultural encounter to examine the dynamics of the relations encapsulated by photographs. The images taken during the war remain images of propaganda and imperial surveillance that demonstrated the diversity of empire and the scale of mobilisation. Disentangling the multiplicities of meanings enmeshed in the image to allow 'important inconsistencies and differences in both photographic practice and imperial discourse' to be revealed has posed a challenge.⁶⁵ Finally, the accounts of those who witnessed colonial service and experience have posed difficulties. In the memoirs of padres who served alongside the BWIR, West Indian experience is recorded, but through the perspective of the white men observing and interacting with them – a form of encounter in itself.⁶⁶ The use of white accounts of non-white experience places the historian in a compromising position: do they allow the subaltern to speak only on the terms of the coloniser?⁶⁷ These sources have been carefully deconstructed and contextualised as witness accounts, rather than as direct representations.

⁶³ *A Chief is a Chief by the People: The Autobiography of Stimela Jason Jingo* ed. by John and Cassandra Perry (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

⁶⁴ As a Collaborative Doctoral Award student at IWM, it was a pleasure to have regular and extensive access to the collection of photographs from the Ministry of Information's Official Collection as well as private photograph collections.

⁶⁵ James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), p. 219.

⁶⁶ Alfred Horner, *From the Islands of the Sea: Glimpses of a West Indian Battalion in France* (Kingston: The Guardian, 1919); John Ramson, *Carry on: or Pages from a life of a West Indian Padre in the field* (Kingston: 1918).

⁶⁷ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Can the subaltern speak?', *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* ed. by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (London: Macmillan, 1988).

By privileging individual experiences of encounters, certain characters and voices have naturally come to the fore, surfacing repeatedly during the thesis. Sometimes this is from necessary dependence on limited material. The published testimony of Stimela Jason Jingoes of the SANLC and the published diary of Rikihana Carkeek from the First Maori Contingent are the only available sources of their kind.⁶⁸ Where the range of material is broader – as in the letters and diaries of the white New Zealand troops – particularly detailed written descriptions or vivid expressions have meant that Stanley Natusch, Edward Ryburn and Raymond Danvers Baker appear more frequently than others among their compatriots.⁶⁹ This form of selection brokers a degree of intimacy and closeness between the men whose lives I read and myself as the researcher investigating broader themes as the thesis follows their outer physical and inner emotional journeys through the contact zones of the First World War.⁷⁰

Thesis Structure

Where the encounters happened during the war is fundamental to the investigation. In the troops' representations of colonial encounters, certain spaces, rather than specific geographic localities, determined how they established the setting: 'on the ship', 'somewhere in France', 'at camp in Egypt', 'in hospital'. Sometimes detail was given on the headed paper they had written on – the New Zealand Soldier's Club London, the Seaford Convalescent Home, the YMCA Hut in Étaples – but the nature and function of the space remained central: were the men in camp and therefore going to or coming back from duty? Or were they on a ship, being transported to a new front? These different spatial 'contact zones' of ships, military camps, destinations for 'leave', civilian homes and cafes, and hospitals have provided the

⁶⁸ Rikihana Carkeek, *Home Little Maori Home: A Memoir of the Maori Contingent, 1914-1916* (Wellington: Totika Publications, 2003).

⁶⁹ IWM, Documents 12330, Private Papers of Stanley Natusch; IWM, Documents 16373, Diary of 2nd Lieutenant Edward Ryburn; Auckland War Memorial Museum (AWMM), MS 2010-20, Memoir and Letters of Raymond Danvers Baker.

⁷⁰ See 'Appendix' for bibliographical details for selected persons whose lives are discussed during the thesis.

structure of the thesis. Importantly, their recurrence within the more fragmented narratives of the non-white troops has allowed thematic comparisons to be made across the individual experiences. The letters, diaries and memoirs of many First World War soldiers have little detailed information on combat, but in this comparison, the restricted service of the Maori Pioneer Battalion, the BWIR and the SANLC to labour duties while in Europe allowed only limited analysis.⁷¹ The battlefield is therefore notably absent from this spatially driven narrative structure. Prisoner of war camps are also absent, though they have been recognised as contact zones for colonial encounters during the First World War. The works of Heather Jones, Heike Liebau, Jennifer Jenkins and Larissa Schmid have vividly illustrated the diversity of population and activity in these settings, including anthropological and linguistic investigations of ‘racial types’.⁷² Yet, in the case of West Indians, Maoris or South Africans, too few of the accounts included experience of POW camps to create a sustained comparison.

The six thesis chapters are based on narratives of war service, establishing where encounters happened and the specific tensions in operation in each of the settings. Broken into three sections, the first two chapters are concerned with the beginnings of war service, the middle two with the men as military and masculine at camp and on leave, and the final chapters with spaces where the troops interacted with women. Chapter One, ‘Contexts’, sets out the pre-war context for each of the colonial settings, providing historiographical detail as to when the men were mobilised, under what circumstances and where they were sent. It is the historical foundation on which the rest of the analysis is built, with initial reflections on the cultures and dynamics that the process of encounter would bring into question. Chapter Two, ‘The Journey’, is concerned with life at sea as the men sailed to war, drawing on Paul Gilroy’s work

⁷¹ Kitchen, p. 26.

⁷² Heather Jones, *Violence Against Prisoners of War in the First World War: Britain, France and Germany, 1914-1920* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011); *When the War Began We Heard of Several Kings: South Asian Prisoners in World War I Germany* ed. by Ravi Ahuja, Heike Liebau and Franziska Roy (New Delhi: Social Science Press, 2011); Jennifer Jenkins, ‘Fritz Fischer’s “Programme for Revolution”: Implications for a Global History of Germany in the First World War,’ *Journal of Contemporary History*, 48 (2013); Larissa Schmid, ‘Cultural Encounters with and among “colonial” prisoners of war (POWs) during the First World War’ < https://zmo.de/forschung/projekte_2008_2013/schmid_e.html > [accessed: 18 August 2016].

on the Black Atlantic to think about the transnational networks these journeys created and how far this was reflected upon by the men.

Chapter Three, 'At Camp', is the first chapter to investigate encounters in depth. The chapter examines how colonial masculinities competed in military camps during the war, in reports of service, in observation and comparison, and through physical displays. It focuses particularly on theories of martial races and how the encounters in camp spaces co-opted and challenged this rhetoric within the racial and national identities of the different groups. Chapter Four, 'Exploring the Sights', transports these developing identities to time on leave in three destinations: Egypt (Cairo and Alexandria) and London. As the men explored the cities, how would they respond to their encounters with both the peoples and the environments of these urban spaces, of varying ethnicities, classes and cultures? The chapter probes the tourist experience, as a part of military service, to reveal how discourses of colonialism influenced behaviour in these very different destinations.

Chapter Five 'Behind the Lines' moves into civilian and domestic spaces where the troops encountered women and children, in Egypt, on the Western Front and in Britain. By comparing the men's experience across racial lines, the analysis reveals the influence of colonial power relations and corresponding official restrictions on encounters with women. In this chapter and the next, understanding the threat of miscegenation becomes a central focus: in what ways did the New Zealanders' whiteness allow them more freedom to interact with women than the black West Indians? Chapter Six 'On the Wards' examines encounters in hospital between white nurses and their colonial patients. The need to protect the 'health' and 'prestige' of white femininity, embodied in the figure of the nurse, was complicated by imperial responsibility for both white and non-white colonial troops, who remained essential for the war effort. How were the politics of care navigated and negotiated in the intimate space of the hospital ward?

The last chapter of the thesis ends with the experience of colonial troops in hospital, rather than exploring their return home. Homecomings, to nations indelibly changed by war, are one of the surprising absences in the collections researched. For some, their narratives ended abruptly with their deaths. The spatial structure of the thesis overcomes the sudden or absent endings by revealing the war as another form of expedition that was not solely about military service – enlistment, service, demobilisation – but the journey itself, the lives and identities made and changed during the course of the war. In the Conclusion, reflections are made on both the end of the Great War for New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies and its commemoration, to think about the legacy of encounters and to raise questions for future research.

Section One: Going to War

Chapter One

Contexts

This thesis looks comparatively at encounters as experienced and represented by troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies. When narrowing the field of research for this project, the three groups were selected because of the interesting contrasts they posed from the outset. Each of these three groups had very different histories in the British Empire. While all three are treated as 'colonial' in this research, the dominion status of New Zealand and South Africa must be understood, as well, as part of their cultures. Each group also had different racial demographics and dynamics, which created asymmetries across which comparisons can be drawn: racially divided South Africa is compared with post-emancipation race relations in the West Indies and racial 'amalgamation' in New Zealand. The different ways in which each of the three groups served during the First World War has also been a central inquiry: how did being a non-white soldier rather than a non-white labourer affect experience? As a result, it is obviously important to understand the contexts from which New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies entered the war. How were these troops mobilised? How many men enlisted? Where were they sent? This chapter serves to outline the national settings at the outbreak of war, drawing on previous scholarly work, to place this research in its historiographical context. The chapter clarifies the dynamics and hierarchies that might influence these diverse men's experiences of encounter, to gain some understanding of the 'cultural baggage' the men carried with them as they journeyed through the war.

	Total Troops	Total Casualties*
New Zealand (including Maori)	128,525**	56,886
South Africa (white)	136,070	18,405
South African Native Labour Corps	25,111	1,304 (approximately) ¹
British West Indies Regiment	15,601	1,953 ²
Canada	628,964	206,158
Australia	412,953	210,724
India	1,440,437	113,743
Other Colonies	94,125	7519***
Britain	5,704,416	662,083

Table 1. Total of British and British Empire Troops and Casualties.

* Includes the dead, missing and wounded.

** This figure includes those who were involved in 'service' at home in New Zealand during the war and has often been questioned. There were 100,444 men in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force.

*** This figure includes the casualties of the British West Indies Regiment (BWIR) and the South African Native Labour Corps (SANLC) but excludes 44,262 Africans, 42,318 of who died, who followed the campaigns in Africa as carriers or porters. The deaths were due mainly to epidemics.³

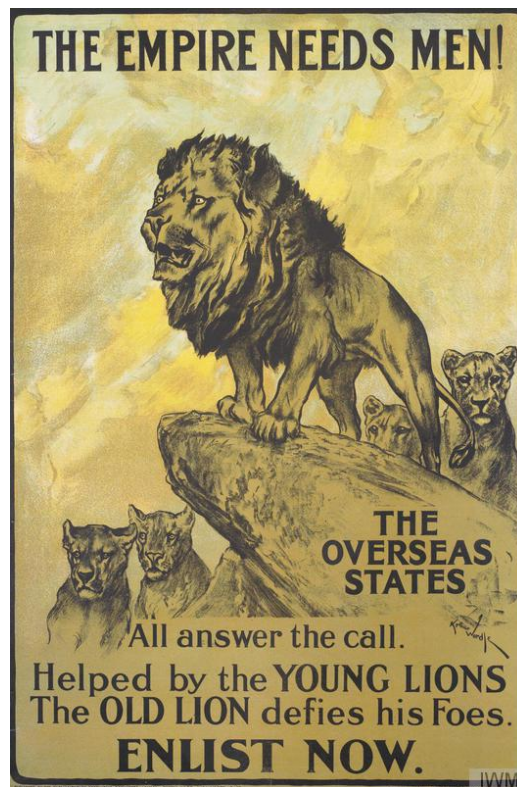
Theatre	Maximum Strength	Total Employed
France	2,046,901	5,339,563
Italy	132,667	145,764
Salonika	285,021	404,207
Dardanelles	127,737	468,987
Mesopotamia	447,531	889,702
Egypt and Palestine	432,857	1,192,511
German South-West Africa	40,000	60,000
German East Africa	211,525	372,950
Togoland and Cameroons	21,300	22,000
North Russia and Vladivostok	16,187	16,187
Australasia	4,083	4,083
Total	--	8,975,954

Table 2. Military Effort of the British Empire in the Great War.⁴

¹ Clothier, p. 158.

² C. L. Joseph, 'The British West Indies Regiment', *Journal of Caribbean History*, 12 (1971), 124.

³ These statistics are drawn from War Office, *Statistics of the military effort of the British Empire during the Great War 1914–1920* (London: War Office, 1922), p. 756. Though subject to continuing revision they remain useful for comparison.



‘The Empire Needs Men’⁵

Study of New Zealand and the First World War remains an area of lively scholarship, copious in comparison to the West Indies or South Africa. The military history of New Zealand’s soldiers, their experiences at the front – particularly during the Gallipoli campaign – and the Home Front in New Zealand has been well established.⁶ The recent volume *New Zealand’s Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, edited by John Crawford and Ian McGibbon is both wide ranging in scope and illuminating in its detail.⁷ This research acts to fill gaps that remain in the existing scholarship. Addressing the experience of both white New Zealanders – or Pakeha to use the Maori term to describe those of European or non-Maori descent – and those Maori who participated in the First World War, this thesis offers closer analysis of encounters than has tended to be done before, as represented in letters and diaries,

⁴ *Statistics of the military effort of the British Empire during the Great War 1914–1920*, p. 739.

⁵ IWM, Art. IWM PST 5110.

⁶ Christopher Pugsley, *Gallipoli: The New Zealand Story* (Auckland: Reed, 1998); Matthew Wright, *Western Front: The New Zealand Division in the First World War, 1916-18* (Auckland: Reed, 2005).

⁷ *New Zealand’s Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War* ed. by John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2007).

as well as in other archival material. New Zealand is placed comparatively in its context within the British Empire, not just as a white settler dominion but acknowledging what remained 'colonial' about this country.

The number of white New Zealanders who came from or whose families came from Britain created a network of connections between the Mother Country and the dominion, even a sense of cultural Britishness for the New Zealanders.⁸ Yet what Angela Woollacott's work has revealed is the continuing colonial status of those from the white dominions, particularly when they encountered the imperial centre.⁹ Her consideration of Paul Gilroy's 'inside/outside relationship' discloses how Australians in London held parallel identities that 'reveal simultaneously the privileged foundations to whiteness and the subordination inherent to colonial status.'¹⁰ The upbringing of Australians and New Zealanders at the empire's very periphery, on the frontiers, rather than in the centre, moderated the privilege of whiteness.¹¹ Certainly, New Zealand's Pakeha masculine identity and discourse at the end of the nineteenth century depended upon the 'powerful traditions' of 'the desire to keep alive the muscular virtues of the pioneer heritage, and the concern to contain that masculine spirit within respectable boundaries'.¹² By examining encounters experienced by New Zealand's soldiers I want to think through New Zealand's position as a colony, while remembering its dominion status, and make lateral comparisons with other colonial groups, rather than focusing solely on the relationship to the centre. How would being simultaneously white, British and colonial shape the experience of encounters for the Pakeha New Zealand soldiers? It is useful to establish some of the national context surrounding New Zealand's participation in the First World War, which included the introduction of conscription. I will

⁸ Stephen Constantine, *Emigrants and Empire: British settlement in the dominions between the wars* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990); Jock Phillips and Terry Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Ireland and Scotland, 1800-1945* (Wellington: Allen and Unwin, 1998).

⁹ Angela Woollacott, 'The Colonial Flaneuse: Australian Women Negotiating Turn-of-the-Century London', *Signs*, 25, 3 (2000); Angela Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune in London. Australian Women, Colonialism and Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

¹⁰ Woollacott, 'The Colonial Flaneuse', 762-3.

¹¹ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 34.

¹² Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male: A History* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1996), p. 86.

map out, too, patterns of mobilisation to show where New Zealanders travelled and served during the war. I will then turn to Maori social status and Maori-Pakeha relations on war's outbreak, and contextualise Maori enlistment.

In 1914, the New Zealand population was roughly divided 1.1 million Pakeha to 52,997 Maori.¹³ Enlistment began in New Zealand on 12 August 1914, with plans for a force of 8,500 volunteers to sail to Europe on 28 August, though this was delayed to October due to a lack of escort warships.¹⁴ 100,444 New Zealanders served with the New Zealand Expeditionary Force (NZEF). The New Zealand battalions included both Pakeha and a much smaller number of Maori men, around 2,227 men, reflecting the population ratio. The NZEF transport ships left Wellington as early as October 1914. Though the men expected to be sent to France and Flanders – many anticipated reunions with family in Britain on their way – they were diverted to Egypt to help protect the Suez Canal against Turkish attacks. The men continued training in Egypt, alongside forces from Australia. In April 1915, the NZEF were sent to Gallipoli from Egypt, in what would become the most remembered campaign in New Zealand's national consciousness. The troops remained at Gallipoli until December 1915 when they were withdrawn, with casualties of 2,721 and 4,852 wounded. From there, many were transferred to Sling Camp in Wiltshire, to undergo further training before being sent to the Western Front at the beginning of 1916. There the New Zealanders saw action at the Somme, at Messines and at Passchendaele. Those members of the Expeditionary Force who remained in Egypt were reorganised into the New Zealand Mounted Brigade and the New Zealand Division (Infantry) to continue the campaign in Egypt and Palestine. The encounters analysed in this research are drawn from across these campaigns.

Why was New Zealand able to mobilise so quickly, and to provide such a substantial contribution? In 1909, New Zealand Prime Minister Joseph Ward had introduced a defence bill, which provided for compulsory military training, and this was fully applied to those

¹³ Winegard, p. 71.

¹⁴ Pugsley, *On the Fringe of Hell*, p. 9.

between 14 and 25 years old.¹⁵ As Paul Baker has demonstrated, compulsory military training illustrated the potential power of the modern New Zealand state, as well as its social control. This training, along with imperialistic schooling and memories of the country's contribution to the Anglo-Boer War, served to mould a population of young men who were ready to mobilise in the event of war. Some 14,000 volunteers came forward within a week of the declaration of war in August 1914, a perceived demonstration of enthusiasm from New Zealanders as well as, or despite of, their trepidation and anxiety as they embarked on their 'Great Adventure'.¹⁶ However, this initial spontaneous eagerness soon gave way to a sense that it was New Zealand's obligation to fight. Military service was 'the fulfilment of a basic duty of citizenship' and this was a young and growing democratic state.¹⁷ At the same time, as the smallest and most isolated of the settler dominions, the white New Zealand population retained close links with Britain and a great deal of loyalty to the Mother Country. Christopher Pugsley has expressed how fully duty and loyalty were instilled in New Zealand society at the time:

Service to King, Empire and country was a tenet of New Zealand society. It was a virtue extolled in most outward expressions of New Zealand society, the press, architecture, dress and in the schools. Young boys trained as school cadets from the age of eight years and remained involved in some form of military activity until the age of 25 years.¹⁸

Following heavy casualties at Gallipoli in April and May 1915, and the notorious sinking of the *Lusitania*, there were public calls in New Zealand for conscription to be introduced. There were also concerns that New Zealand was not doing 'its bit' when one looked at the numbers of men provided by the other dominions.¹⁹ But, for many, conscription was difficult to contemplate. It challenged views of New Zealand as a young 'New World' country whose conscience and colonial initiative drove their service. If the country needed to resort to enforced enlistment, would this not suggest a lack of patriotism and 'manliness' in comparison to other British colonies, particularly Australia? But the country's contribution

¹⁵ Paul Baker, *King and Country Call: New Zealanders, Conscription and the Great War* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1988), p. 12.

¹⁶ Baker, *King and Country Call*, p. 15.

¹⁷ Baker, *King and Country Call*, p. 21.

¹⁸ Pugsley, *Gallipoli*, p. 30.

¹⁹ Baker, *King and Country Call*, p. 26.

was of utmost importance in spite of how it was raised. The First World War represented what Jock Phillips has called the ‘acid test’ of masculinity, martial ability and nationality, particularly in the context of nation and identity building.²⁰ The inequality of voluntarism between families, regions, classes and occupations, as well as condemnations of ‘shirkers’, contributed to growing support for conscription, though voluntarists remained active and vocal. Following a failed Recruiting Scheme from February 1916, a Military Service Bill was drafted from May, with the application of conscription dependent on a shortage of volunteers in certain areas. It became law on 1 August 1916.²¹ The NZEF was therefore a mixture of volunteers and conscripts, though the men rarely made clear in their accounts how they were enlisted as their narratives usually began after this point.

Like Australia and Canada, the First World War has been seen as a nation building experience for the New Zealanders through their significant military contribution, which has undoubtedly fuelled the scholarship on this subject. Made a dominion in 1907, the shift towards independence that this denoted raised questions about national identity and the sovereignty of the nation. Glyn Harper has argued that, because of the First World War, it was recognised ‘that New Zealand and New Zealanders were different and this difference did not imply inferiority. New Zealand nationalism and a sense of identity had been born.’²² Jay Winter has argued for the continued importance of the links between the dominions and Britain as the imperial centre: ‘the ties which bound these different populations together were reinforced by the social practices of remembering the dead of the 1914-18 conflict’.²³ However, national identity and culture remains a prescient category of analysis. The context of nation building in a time of global conflict, from individual identity to broader scales of community, informs how the New Zealanders understood their encounters. The creation, maintenance and adaptation of a distinct identity through encounters with others – against whom one could

²⁰ Phillips, *A Man’s Country?*, p. 158.

²¹ Phillips, *A Man’s Country?*, p. 158.

²² *Letters from the Battlefield: New Zealand Soldiers Write Home 1914-18* ed. by Glyn Harper (Auckland: Harper Collins, 2001), p. 14.

²³ Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War Between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 155.

define one's self – was a key tenet of war writing for the New Zealanders, as well as the West Indians and South Africans, which is demonstrated throughout the thesis.

Rhetoric about New Zealand's 'new' nation neglected the much longer Maori settlement in the country. Where did the Maori fit within the military context?

Men from the Northern Districts were already in [Avondale] camp when I arrived on the 19th with the South Island and Wellington quotas. The Northerners, therefore, had the honour of pitching the first Maori camp of its kind. Batches of men arrived daily for about a week or so afterwards, each representing a tribe or sub-tribe.²⁴

As Timothy Winegard has reflected, the participation of Maori in the two world wars is one of the few stories of indigenous groups to be fully explored by scholars, particularly in narrative unit histories.²⁵ It is hoped in this study to highlight Maori war experiences of the First World War, in particular their encounters, rather than to dwell solely on military histories. By comparing Maori accounts with that of their Pakeha compatriots, and other indigenous groups, this experience will be located within a broader analysis of the operations of the racial hierarchies of the British Empire in the course of the war.

First, though, the position of Maori people in New Zealand prior to the war needs to be established, in order to understand their relationships with the white settlers. In 1914 about 50,000 New Zealanders were Maori, mostly living in rural areas in the North Island, as farmers or labourers.²⁶ The Maori population was frequently regarded as a 'better breed of indigene' due to a combination of factors, including a higher resistance to European diseases, the fact that as a group they were thriving numerically, and their prominence within the New Zealand population.²⁷ The strong opposition the Maori had posed to British and colonial forces during the New Zealand Wars, further spoke to discourses of martial ability and superior physicality compared to other non-white men. Simultaneously theorists in the late nineteenth century presented models of an 'Aryan' Maori. Edward Treager's *The Aryan Maori*

²⁴ Carkeek, 17 October 1914 – 9 February 1915.

²⁵ Winegard, p. 7.

²⁶ Baker, *King and Country Call*, p. 210.

²⁷ Winegard, p. 37.

(1885) and S. Percy Smith's *Hawaiki: the Original Home of the Maori* (1899) proposed a shared Aryan origin and placed Maori in the Caucasian family.²⁸ Intermarriage was more common and accepted in New Zealand than in other settler colonies, so that many Maori had more obvious Caucasian heritage.²⁹ The elevated status suggested by this diverse racial composite, which included whiteness, did not ensure equality between Maori and Pakeha. Inequalities persisted in New Zealand society, particularly in regards to health care and integrated living, despite the efforts of Maori leaders like Apirana Ngata, Maui Pomare and Peter Buck/Te Rangi Hiroa (all Maori MPs) to introduce reform to improve standards of living. Christopher Pugsley has highlighted that, at the beginning of the twentieth century, Maori had 'an exotic postcard image within New Zealand and that reflected the reality of contact or rather the lack of contact for many New Zealanders, particularly the South Island where Maori were few'.³⁰ These varied understandings of Maori, as both high status non-white people and exotic, are evident in the accounts explored throughout this research.

Maori soldiers had been a visible element within the military history of the British Empire in the nineteenth century. Twenty-two Maori Volunteer Force soldiers were part of the New Zealand Contingent for Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897.³¹ They made up two fifths of the total contingent, a symbol of how well regarded Maori were perceived to be in New Zealand society. Maori had also fought in the Anglo-Boer War, despite restrictions on their military service. These soldiers were mostly of mixed ethnicity and they went abroad under surnames like Pitt or Walker, serving among the Pakeha men.³² At the outbreak of the First World War, some Maori tribes immediately volunteered men for any force that might be raised. The New Zealand government did not prevent Maori men from enlisting in the

²⁸ Winegard, p. 39.

²⁹ Angela Wanhalla, *Matters of the Heart: A History of Interracial Marriage in New Zealand* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2013), p. 47.

³⁰ Christopher Pugsley, 'Images of Te Hokowhitu a Tu', *Race, Empire and First World War Writing* ed. by Das, p. 196.

³¹ Winegard, p. 55.

³² Monty Soutar, 'Te Hokowhitu-a-Tu: A Coming of Age?', *New Zealand's Great War* ed. by Crawford and McGibbon, p. 99.

NZEF and an ‘unknown number’ sailed for Egypt in October.³³ It was not, though, until news of Indian and Algerian mobilisation that the Army Council accepted the offer of a separate Maori contingent.³⁴ The British government had, due to racial concerns, initially refused the offer of a Maori contingent to fight for New Zealand and even when it was instituted the Maori were restricted to garrison duty.³⁵ On this basis, the First Maori Contingent was raised and 500 Maori volunteers sailed from New Zealand in February 1915 for Egypt. The Maori men received identical training to the NZEF, despite the restriction.³⁶ James Allen, the New Zealand Minister of Defence, spoke in October 1914 of his pride in the Maori Contingent.

I am proud of the fact that New Zealand was the first overseas possession next to India to raise a body of Natives at this crisis [...] You might even turn out better soldiers than your Pakeha brothers if you chose.³⁷

The Maori Contingent were sent as pioneer reinforcements for the NZEF at Gallipoli, and arrived in the Dardanelles in July 1915. By August 1915 the Maori had so impressed General Godley – who was responsible for training the New Zealand troops before deployment – that he reiterated the request that they should be allowed to fight. The Army Council and the Native Committee in New Zealand then agreed this, and the Maori played an active combat role in the Gallipoli campaign. As Peter Buck/Te Rangi Hiroa wrote in his diary,

All who have come through the Gallipoli campaign, where Pakeha and Maori have shared the fatigue, danger, and incessant vigil of the trenches, side by side, recognise that the Maori is a better man than they gave him credit for, and have admitted him to full fellowship and equality.³⁸

After the evacuation of New Zealanders from Gallipoli in December 1915, the New Zealand Pioneer Battalion was formed in February 1916 as a division, including men from the first, second and third Maori Contingents as well as men from the Otago Mounted Rifles. This made them a mixed battalion, until they were re-formed as the New Zealand (Maori) Pioneer

³³ Alison Fletcher, ‘Recruitment and the Service of Maori Soldiers in World War One’, *Itinerario*, 38, 3 (2014), 62.

³⁴ Soutar, p. 97.

³⁵ Winegard, p. 156.

³⁶ Christopher Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu A Tu: The Maori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War* (Auckland: Reed, 1995), p. 24.

³⁷ Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu A Tu*, p. 85.

³⁸ James Cowan, *The Maoris in the Great War: A History of the New Zealand Native Contingent and Pioneer Battalion. Gallipoli 1915, France and Flanders, 1916-1918* (Auckland, 1926), p. 69.

Battalion in September 1917. The Pioneer Battalion sailed for France as a labour force, with Buck, now a major, the second-in-command. The diverse locations for Maori service were captured in the recruiting song of the First Maori Battalion, *Te Ope Tuatahi*!

E te tuatahi	We greet our first war band!
No Aotearoa	From Aotearoa,
No Te Wai-pounamu,	From the Island of Greenstone:
No nga tai e wha.	We sing of our warriors,
Ko koutou ena	Our gallant Five Hundred,
E nga rau e rima,	The chosen heroes
Ko te Hokowhitu toa	Of Tu-mata-uenga,
A Tu-mata-uenga:	The Angry-Eyed War God
I hinga ki Ihipa,	Some fell in Egypt
Ki Karipori ra ia;	Some fell in Gallipoli;
E ngau nei te aroha,	Now pangs of sharp sorrow
Me te mamae.	Our sad hearts are piercing. ³⁹

Approximately 4.5% of the Maori population served in the First World War, which was just under half the contribution per head of the total New Zealand population.⁴⁰ It should be noted that as well as Maori, 631 men from the various Pacific Islands volunteered over the course of the war, such as the Cook and Niue Islanders, 458 of whom served with the Maori unit in its various guises.⁴¹ Their experience is not widely understood and falls outside the remit of this research, though recent studies have been able to recover aspects of their histories and reflections on their military service.⁴²

There were some Maori tribes who objected to service abroad who did not enlist, even after the introduction of conscription. Cowan suggests that men from the Waikato and King country would not enlist due to memories of the Waikato war of 1863-4, when they had been suppressed by tens of thousands of British and colonial troops.⁴³ Baker also identifies tribes from Taranaki and the Urewas who did not send men as a result of similar reasons: separatism, pacifism, and land grievances, each a legacy of conflicts of Empire of the previous

³⁹ Pusgley, *Te Hokowhitu A Tu*, p. 11.

⁴⁰ Baker, *King and Country Call*, p. 221.

⁴¹ Baker, *King and Country Call*, p. 213; Pusgley, *Te Hokowhitu A Tu*, p. 81.

⁴² Howard Weddell, *Soldiers from the Pacific: The Story of Pacific Island Soldiers in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force in World War One* (Auckland: Wheelers Books, 2015).

⁴³ Cowan, p. 18.

century.⁴⁴ Attempts to introduce conscription in one electoral district, Western Maori, in 1917, were unsuccessful: Maori conscripts refused to serve and were subsequently arrested. Monty Soutar has investigated the long-lasting breach that this policy created between these Maori tribes and the New Zealand government.⁴⁵ The relationship between the Maori and Pakeha enlisted in the New Zealand forces will be reflected upon throughout this thesis in thinking about how these racially different men negotiated a sense of shared national identity. In what ways were the experiences of encounter, as nuanced by factors of race and status, different for the Maori men?

South Africa and the First World War

A number of South Africans are joining the K.E.H (King Edward's Horses) now: nearly every second man in the squadron speaks some kind of kaffir. One fellow called Thompson from East Griguland is a friend of mine.⁴⁶

Less has been written about South Africa and the First World War than about New Zealand: the Anglo-Boer War and the tumultuous history of race relations and apartheid in that country has, understandably, dominated scholarly attention. South Africa, only recently transformed from geographic expression to the Union in 1910, had a majority non-white population who were politically excluded. Instead, the white minority, both British and Afrikaner, were united by a limited democracy.⁴⁷ With the construction of a single state from the British colonies, the Afrikaner republics and African kingdoms in the region, new ethnic identities emerged, alongside different understandings of nation. As Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido have commented, despite their numerical minority, it was English-speaking South Africans who 'dominated the twentieth-century political economy of South Africa, as they had the nineteenth', through merchant capitalism and imperialism.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Baker, *King and Country Call*, p. 213.

⁴⁵ Soutar, p. 101.

⁴⁶ IWM, Documents 7976, Private Papers of Lieutenant Frederick Wade, 6 December 1915.

⁴⁷ Bill Nasson, *Springboks on the Somme: South Africa in the Great War, 1914-1918* (Johannesburg: Penguin, 2007), p. 1.

⁴⁸ *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa* ed. by Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido (Harlow: Longman, 1987), p. 2.

The lived relations of paternalism which bound black and white together in South Africa presented white supremacy as part of the natural order of things in its (im)moral universe.⁴⁹

Understanding the racially divided society of South Africa is important for the implications for mobilisation during the First World War. There were deep social divisions in South Africa: the population was not only split along racial hierarchies – white, African, ‘coloured’ and Indian – but within these groups. Both class and ethnicity created further separations.⁵⁰ As a result, the response to the outbreak of the First World War was not the (mainly) coherent or nationally driven reaction of other dominions, like New Zealand, but was more layered and divided.⁵¹ Many Afrikaners had just recently been at war with the Mother Country – their experience, beyond those who served in the 1st South African Infantry Brigade (SAIB), is not addressed in this research.⁵² There were difficulties, too, given how close enemy German territory was in South-West Africa (present day Namibia). The Boer Revolt from 15 September 1914 to 4 February 1915 – when those who supported the creation of a Boer South African Republic rebelled against the Union government – was indicative of the fractured nature of South African society and identity at the outbreak of the global war.

The ‘fragile’ nature of South African society directly influenced how far it could contribute to the First World War, more so than the other dominions. The existing Union Defence Forces included both British colonial and Boer republican military traditions in ‘an unhappy compromise’, but there were increasingly Anglicised command cultures and ‘soldiering’ codes which excluded other groups.⁵³ For those who felt themselves ‘British’ – either South African English or English-Scottish or of loyalist Anglo-Afrikaner orientation – there was a common pro-British patriotism that required a contribution to the war. This included, too, the patriotism of South Africa’s immigrant white diaspora communities: ‘Rand Australians’,

⁴⁹ Saul Dubow, ‘Race, civilization and culture: the elaboration of segregationist discourse in the inter-war years’, *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism* ed. by Marks and Trapido, p. 75.

⁵⁰ Nasson, *Springboks on the Somme*, p. 11.

⁵¹ Nasson, *Springboks on the Somme*, p. 10.

⁵² Nasson, *Springboks on the Somme*, p. 5.

⁵³ Nasson, *Springboks on the Somme*, p. 3.

‘Transvaal New Zealanders’ and ‘Cape Irish’.⁵⁴ When war broke out, thousands of white South Africans left independently to join the British forces in Europe.⁵⁵ These men were integrated into the British Army in British regiments and so their war journey is difficult to separate from that of the British Tommy. Other white South African volunteers joined the British and Indian troops for the invasion of German East Africa, under General Smuts. German territories encompassed 75,000 square miles of often difficult terrain in East Africa and the 150,000 men of the Allied forces, including the South Africans, and their labour support and carrier corps drawn from the non-white African population, faced challenging environments and climate, hunger and the pernicious spread of disease - a bigger killer than the conflict itself.⁵⁶ The East African campaign was a crucial front, which should be remembered for its huge cost to human life. Economically the war wrought havoc on these lands. In total from South Africa, 67,306 white and 33,546 black troops served in German South West Africa with 47,521 white and 18,000 black troops mobilised for service in German East and Central Africa.⁵⁷ The distinctive nature of mobilisation and fighting in Germany’s African territories makes it extremely difficult to draw comparisons between these fronts and the theatres where the New Zealand forces or the West Indians in the British West Indies Regiment (BWIR) served.

To limit the variables at stake, this study does not offer a comprehensive review of all the participation of South Africans in the First World War but instead focuses on those white South Africans of British origin and identity who dominated the SAIB, and the black men recruited as part of the South African Native Labour Corps (SANLC). The white men of the SAIB left South Africa to serve in Egypt and the Western Front – theatres where the other colonial groups in this thesis served. The SAIB was overwhelmingly English, though the

⁵⁴ Nasson, *Springboks on the Somme*, p. 16.

⁵⁵ Clothier, p. 7.

⁵⁶ Daniel Steinbach, ‘Misremembered history: the First World War in East Africa’, *British Council* <<https://www.britishcouncil.org/voices-magazine/misremembered-history-first-world-war-east-africa>> [accessed: 13 July 2016].

⁵⁷ Peter K. A. Digby, *Pyramids and Poppies: The 1st SA Infantry Brigade in Libya, France and Flanders, 1915-19* (Rivonia: Ashanti Publishing, 1993), p. 2.

Scottish elements of their identity remained important. The SAIB included a Signal Company, Horse Transport Companies and the Regiment of South African Heavy Artillery. These four regiments opened recruiting centres in every province in the Union, initially drawing from veterans of the German South West Africa campaign to limit unemployment after the German surrender. The Brigade left Cape Town in August 1915, followed by further reinforcements until the full strength of 5,800 officers and men was assembled for training at barracks in Hampshire.⁵⁸ During December 1915, the SAIB was sent to Egypt for around three months of campaigning; like the first battalions of the NZEF, service in Egypt was a prelude to longer campaigns on the Western Front. In 1916, men from the Brigade disembarked in Marseilles and were deployed during the second stage of the Somme offensive, at Longueval and, most famously, at Delville Wood, where of the 3,153 men from the brigade who entered the wood, only 708 survived. Much like the New Zealanders and Australians, the white South Africans gained a reputation as ‘colonial supermen’ – their bronzed and admirably fit physiques, martial ability and soldiering ethos feeding the image of ‘Botha’s Boys’ and as Africa’s ‘European elect’.⁵⁹ Peter Digby, writing in 1993, referred to the men who joined the Brigade for service in France as ‘of a particularly fine type. They represented a good cross-section of the full spectrum of life – miners, businessmen, civil servants, professional men, academics, students and farmers.’⁶⁰ The undeniable pride in his presentation of these men echoes official reports from the time and indicates the investment in white ‘colonial’ men both in contemporary and in later studies in the Springbok or Anzac warrior heroes as national prototypes. The vitality of the physiques of these men and the associated symbolism will be discussed more fully in Chapter Three, but the ascription of national identity to this select group is a notable feature of both South African and New Zealand writings.

⁵⁸ Nasson, *Springboks on the Somme*, p. 125.

⁵⁹ Nasson, *Springboks on the Somme*, p. 127.

⁶⁰ Digby, p. 17.

For the black and 'coloured' Africans who served within South African forces in the First World War, usually designated as labourers, the war was a very different experience than that of the white South Africans. Yet, Stimela Jason Jingoos, one of the very few black Africans in the SANLC to have testified about his war experience, expressed feelings of loyalty and obligation, which echoed those of the white South African and New Zealand forces:

When the First World War broke out, I, as a member of the British Commonwealth, felt deeply involved. The picture that the newspapers drew of men doing battle in trenches in the mud and the cold of France fascinated and horrified me. I followed closely the progress of the war, as our papers wrote it up, and I felt growing in me the conviction that I should go and help in some way.⁶¹

Despite living in a racially divided and only recently constituted British dominion without political enfranchisement, black men still felt involved in the global war. How did racial divides and segregation affect their service? From the late nineteenth century in South Africa, policies and rhetoric of physical distance and removal created a system of control through labour and excluded the majority of the population from political power.⁶² The 1912 Defence Act excluded black men from military service without special parliamentary authorisation, in order to protect the colour bar and avoiding enfranchising the black population.⁶³ The demographics of South Africa and the fear of black insurrection meant that both British and Boer forces used black people as labour during the Second Anglo-Boer War.⁶⁴ During the First World War, black people acted as labour support for the campaign throughout German East Africa and in German South West Africa. How they were utilised in this complicated, moving front is not entirely clear, and some may have been used for active service as riflemen or for grenade throwing, as well as carriers or porters.⁶⁵

This study focuses on those black Africans who served in Europe, in the SANLC, to enable comparison with New Zealand and West Indian experience, as well as with that of white

⁶¹ *A Chief is a Chief*, p. 73.

⁶² Marks and Trapido, p. 8.

⁶³ Nasson, *Springboks on the Somme*, p. 5.

⁶⁴ Winegard, p. 49.

⁶⁵ See Geoffrey Hodges, *The Carrier Corps: Military Labour in the East African Campaign 1914-1918* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986).

South Africans. The British Government had approached the South African Prime Minister, General Louis Botha, who was also Minister for Native Affairs, during the Somme campaign in 1916 to recruit troops to serve as a labour battalion under British command in France. This suggestion of a black labour force from South Africa had first been raised by Josiah Wedgwood, a British MP who had served with General Smuts in East Africa and who been impressed by the South African labour contingent there. Secret correspondence between the British Government and Botha led, in September 1916, to an agreement to recruit 10,000 black troops to serve in France.⁶⁶ There were to be five battalions of 2,000 black men who would be under the command of fifty-nine white officers and NCOs.⁶⁷ Each battalion would also have six black sergeants, two of whom were hospital orderlies, sixty-four corporals, 128 lance corporals, eight clerk-interpreters and one chaplain.⁶⁸ The Department of Native Affairs carried out recruitment, but it was slow and the full 10,000 was only reached in January 1917. Appeals for enlistments were made through local Native Commissioners, magistrates, African newspapers, at meetings with both black and white local dignitaries, and in church services. Stimela Jason Jingoes recalls an appeal in Bantu newspapers for black people to volunteer: “‘The present war is a world war. Every nation must take part in it. Even we Bantu ought to play our part in this war.’”⁶⁹ Members of the educated African elite lent support to the campaign, regarding this as an opportunity to demonstrate loyalty to King and country, as well as stressing African influence and importance to the authorities.⁷⁰ War service could fuel political enfranchisement. There was hesitation in some quarters about the effect that mass mobilisation would have on existing labour forces: the Chamber of Mines declined to assist with recruiting, unprepared to allow black workers to leave for an extended period and thus affect contractual agreements. As Albert Grundligh rightly asserts, both black and white concerns about the SANLC help to explain the problem of raising sufficient recruits: the decline in labour supply, the association with the South African authorities and their

⁶⁶ Clothier, p. 8.

⁶⁷ Clothier, p. 12.

⁶⁸ Clothier, p. 12.

⁶⁹ *A Chief is a Chief*, p. 72.

⁷⁰ B. P. Willan, ‘The South African Native Labour Contingent, 1916-1918’, *Journal of African History*, XIX (1978), 65.

administration of native affairs, and the fear of war.⁷¹ Recruitment among the Zulu, for example, had only produced 300 recruits by March 1917.⁷² Nevertheless between September 1916 and January 1918, 25,000 black South Africans were enlisted in the SANLC, of whom 21,000 left South Africa for France, from a black South African population of around one million.⁷³ There seems to have been a certain amount of compulsion exercised by the South African government through the tribal chiefs. About 55% of the SANLC came from the Transvaal, which had been under direct British rule and military occupation from the end of the Anglo-Boer War in 1902 to the formation of the Union in 1910.⁷⁴

The SANLC men sailed first to Liverpool, before being transferred to ships to France, with very little time spent in Britain. The first Battalion of the SANLC arrived at Le Havre on 20 November 1916. The second Battalion arrived on 10 December 1916. When the SANLC arrived in France, the ranking of the men was altered, so that the highest rank that black men could attain as labourers was that of lance corporal whereas white privates could expect to reach the rank of corporal. This ploy ensured that black men could 'never outrank their white overseers.'⁷⁵ The units of the SANLC were allocated to camps at Le Havre, Rouen, Dieppe, Rouxmesnil, Saigneville and Dannes. Until January 1918, when the contingent was disbanded, the men were involved with forestry, quarrying, loading and unloading ships, working on roads, railways and other supply lines.⁷⁶ The men were kept in closed compounds, walled in behind barbed wire, similar to those used for native labour on gold and diamond mines, with no visitors allowed, in an attempt to maintain the segregation policies of South Africa as well as the effectiveness of the workers. These efforts at segregation posed challenges for the military in densely populated urban areas such as Rouen and Le Havre, where, as will be demonstrated, mixing and encounters did occur. The last company of the SANLC left France

⁷¹ Albert Grundlingh, 'Mutating Memories and the Making of a Myth: Remembering the SS *Mendi* Disaster, 1917-2007', *South African Historical Journal*, 63, 1 (2011).

⁷² Winegard, p. 170.

⁷³ Willan, 61.

⁷⁴ Winegard, p. 170.

⁷⁵ Winegard, p. 178.

⁷⁶ Nasson, *Springboks on the Somme*, p. 161.

on 5 January 1918.⁷⁷ Perhaps the most significant and traumatic event for the SANLC was the sinking of the *SS Mendi* in February 1917.⁷⁸ When the transport ship *Mendi* sank off the Isle of Wight, as it brought SANLC men to France, 600 African men drowned. The experience of the *Mendi* will be addressed more fully in Chapter Two, but this thesis endeavours to explore SANLC experience beyond the national tragedy.

The West Indies and the First World War

The sons of the West Indies are worthy of the beautiful islands and fighting ancestry from which they come. They are prepared to bear their portion of the burden of Empire, and to endure sacrifices for the ideals for which our armies are fighting, thus proving that they are entitled to greater recognition than ever before as a component part of our great Empire.⁷⁹

What of the West Indian experience of the First World War? In this research, I focus on the service of the British West Indies Regiment (BWIR), subject of study by C. L. Joseph and W. F. Elkins in the 1970s, a social history by Glenford Howe in the 1990s and most recently by the historian Richard Smith. It should be noted that the men are collectively referred to as West Indian throughout, though, where available, details of the specific colony the men came from will be included – almost two-thirds of the men were Jamaican.⁸⁰ The conflation of individual nationalities within a broader West Indian identity is reflective of the representations within the accounts: the portrayal of a particular West Indian character or culture by those who served with them rarely attended to the particularities of Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, or other islands.

The First World War was not the first instance of West Indian men being mobilised by the British armed forces. The West India Regiment (WIR) was formed from both the black slave population and the free population in the late eighteenth century for service in the Carolinas during the War of Independence, 1775-1783, despite concerns about slave rebellions and the loyalty of black troops. The Regiment went on to achieve success in minor expeditions

⁷⁷ Willan, 61.

⁷⁸ Clothier, p. 2.

⁷⁹ 'Fusilier', 'The British West Indies Regiment', *United Empire*, VII (1916), 29.

⁸⁰ Joseph, 94.

throughout the nineteenth century in Dominica, Martinique, Ashanti, Guadeloupe, West Africa and Sierra Leone, where one of the two battalions was stationed on the outbreak of the First World War.⁸¹ The first battalion of the WIR returned to Jamaica, in June 1915, and the second battalion replaced them in Sierra Leone with some machine-gunners in the Cameroons, before joining the East Africa campaign in April 1916. Some men who had served in the WIR would be among the early volunteers for the BWIR.⁸² The WIR had never served in Europe, but the prior military experience of West Indian men created a demand for the men to be allowed to enlist and to be equipped as soldiers during the First World War.⁸³

Historiography about BWIR service during the First World War has centred on the development of national consciousness, nationalism and pan-Africanism as a result of their war experience. Elkins pointed to the racist constraints of the War Office that 'had driven the black soldiers away from their connections to the British Empire.'⁸⁴ The experience at Taranto, Italy in 1918, where the men mutinied, epitomised the unequal treatment of West Indians throughout the conflict and 'created a desire for affirmative action in the colonies against class and racial oppressors.'⁸⁵ Most recently, Richard Smith's study of Jamaican volunteers during the war has intertwined analysis of West Indian race and masculinity with the development of national identity. Smith's work is an important intervention in contextualising the participation and experience of Jamaican men at war, particularly in regards to the discrimination they suffered and their subsequent politicisation. Where Smith has examined the consequences of encounters as part of the development of national consciousness, I follow representations of individual interaction that point towards the development of identity, nuanced by gender, class and army rank, as well as by race. The research compares West Indian service with that of other colonial groups, which has not been done before. While, as established in the Introduction, I seek to avoid the 'charms' of

⁸¹ 'Fusilier', 28.

⁸² Joseph, 122.

⁸³ Joseph, 94.

⁸⁴ W. F. Elkins, 'A Source of Black Nationalism in the Caribbean: The Revolt of the British West Indies Regiment at Taranto, Italy', *Science and Society*, 34 (1970), 101.

⁸⁵ Elkins, 103.

the cross-cultural encounter, the examples I have found of West Indian interactions complicate, rather than obscure, the familiar narratives of oppression with shared intimacies.

Understanding the position and attitude of the British West Indies towards the Mother Country on war's outbreak is essential to understanding why the troops enlisted and how their national identity developed. Glenford Howe points to the intrinsic tendency of the inhabitants of the British West Indies to become 'faithful patriots':

Centuries of alienation and the suppression of the remnants of African cultural practices, and the proliferation of British institutions, culture and language, had by the outbreak of the war created staunchly loyal black Britishers in Barbados and the other colonies.⁸⁶

Many aspects of life in the West Indies fostered loyalty and a sense of duty to Britain: the names of roads and towns, the military presence in the islands – recruited heavily from the former slave population – the colonial nature of the buildings, cultural and sporting activities. As David Killingray has reflected, the promotion of the rhetoric of 'the Mother Country in need' made for powerful propaganda, which 'touched the minds of men who had never seen Europe but had a fixed image of British imperial beneficence'.⁸⁷ Support for Britain and the war was therefore unsurprising, though some West Indians insisted that the conflict was a white man's war.⁸⁸ The West Indian press countered these claims by positioning the war as an opportunity for West Indians to prove themselves as citizens rather than subjects. The black West Indian middle classes recognised that support of and participation in the war could further black political ambitions. Habitual critics of the Crown Colony government, like Theodore Albert Marryshow in Grenada, perceived the war as a significant opportunity for the movement for representative government.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Glenford D. Howe 'De (Re) Constructing Identities: World War I and the Growth of Barbadian/West Indian Nationalism', *The Empowering Impulse: The Nationalist Tradition of Barbados* ed. by Glenford D. Howe and Don D. Marshall (Jamaica: Canoe Press, 2001), p. 104.

⁸⁷ David Killingray, 'All the King's Men? Blacks in the British Army in the First World War, 1914-1918' in *Under the Imperial Carpet: Essays in Black History, 1780-1950* ed. by Rainer Lotz and Ian Pegg (London: Rabbit Press, 1986), p. 164.

⁸⁸ As Howe states, 'cultural hegemony is rarely, perhaps never, so all-embracing that it renders the subordinate groups incapable of contesting the structure and essence of social relations'. Glenford D. Howe, 'West Indian Blacks and the struggle for participation in the First World War', *Journal of Caribbean History*, 28, 1 (1994), 29.

⁸⁹ Howe, 'Military Selection', 35.

Despite the enthusiasm of many West Indians to volunteer, it was a drawn-out process before the colonial authorities formed the BWIR, and initially the emphasis was on support for Britain through the supply of goods and materials.⁹⁰ A number of West Indians travelled to Britain at their own expense to join up there, apparently with only the 'lighter coloured' volunteers accepted.⁹¹ There was little cohesive policy by the British Army towards black enlistment, and it was often administered in a haphazard way until conscription was introduced.⁹² As well as an innate racial prejudice towards black West Indians, there were also 'practical' concerns about the likely loyalty and discipline of such units – given the history of rebellion in the West Indies.⁹³ The Colonial Office communicated West Indian desire to send a contingent overseas to the military authorities on 28 August 1914. In December the War Office informed the Colonial Office that West Indian troops were not considered suitable for Egypt or East Africa. In April 1915, King George wrote to the Colonial Office emphasising the political importance of allowing the 'patriotic' West Indians to take part. The King expressed the hope that the Colonial Office would relent and make an acceptable proposal to the War Office – an interesting intervention.⁹⁴ Following negotiations between May and September, recruitment for the BWIR began from October 1915. The intake increased markedly in late 1916, with the involvement of local recruiting bodies, like established churches, press and government agencies.⁹⁵ As well as the patriotism previously discussed, the reasons for enlistment included a desire for adventure, curiosity about the war, as well as the possibility for escaping economic deprivation or social insecurity, much the same reasons that led white men to enlist.

Following enlistment in the West Indies and training in England, the men from the West Indies were scattered all over the globe, serving different roles in their military service, though

⁹⁰ Howe, *Race, War and Nationalism*, p. 8.

⁹¹ Joseph, 96.

⁹² Killingray, 'All the King's Men?', pp. 176-77.

⁹³ Howe, 'West Indian Blacks', 29.

⁹⁴ Howe, *Race, War and Nationalism*, p. 32.

⁹⁵ Howe, 'De (Re) Constructing Identities', p. 111.

all named as soldiers. Between 1914 and 1918, 15,204 West Indians, mainly black, experienced military service in Palestine, Egypt, Mesopotamia, East Africa, France, Italy, Belgium and England as members of the BWIR.⁹⁶ Only half of those who volunteered were actually selected. Despite the selection criteria being relaxed as the war went on, many men were still deemed unfit. The health of recruits precipitated debates 'on public health and in particular the prevalence of venereal and other contagious diseases' in the West Indies.⁹⁷ There was an official desire to present only those deemed 'a credit to the island', whose physique and literacy marked them as a 'good class of men'.⁹⁸ The War Office refused to use black men as soldiers in Europe so the BWIR, while named as a soldiering regiment, served in non-combatant roles there instead. Those who served outside Europe saw active combat. The first contingent of the BWIR arrived in England in October 1915, where they went into training at Seaford, Sussex.⁹⁹ By the end of 1915, 2,448 men and 48 officers had arrived in Britain: a total of three battalions, two representative of the entire West Indies, the third exclusively Jamaican.¹⁰⁰ At the completion of their training in April 1916, the first, second and third battalions arrived at the Levant base in Alexandria, Egypt. In July of 1915, the battalions were broken up. 500 men from the first, second and third were transferred to the East African Expeditionary Force in Mombasa to be attached to the second WIR, to garrison territories seized from the Germans. Another detachment of 100 men from the second battalion went to Mesopotamia to join the Indian Expeditionary Force for non-combatant duties. At the end of August 1915, the third and fourth battalions left Egypt for Marseilles, where trains took them to the Western Front to work on the ammunition dumps. In 1916, the fifth reserve battalion were sent to Egypt, joining the remaining men of the first and second. Detachments from these battalions saw active service, including training in using light machine guns, Lewis guns and trench mortars. These battalions joined the general advance towards the Jordan Valley in 1918. The third and fourth remained in France where

⁹⁶ Howe, 'Military Selection', 35.

⁹⁷ Howe, 'Military Selection', 41.

⁹⁸ Howe, 'Military Selection', 36.

⁹⁹ Joseph, 103. Joseph's article offers an incredibly detailed survey of the official decisions made by the War Office and the Colonial Office about the mobilization of the British West Indies Regiment.

¹⁰⁰ Joseph, 103.

all successive contingents were sent for work on the ammunitions dumps. The main battalions in France were attached to the British Expeditionary Force and were employed in all the main operations that had taken place, including the battles of the Somme, Arras, Messines and Ypres.

This section has outlined some of the contexts surrounding the three colonies that will be compared in this research. It has also touched on some of the research questions and factors influencing and nuancing the occurrence of encounters for the enlisted men from these countries: identity formation on national levels, martial ability and physical strength, and the place of racial hierarchies, 'race relations' and corresponding status, as 'better Blacks' in the case of the Maori or as labourers for the black South Africans and West Indians. Equipped with this clearer sense of the colonies' contexts, the thesis moves to join the individuals from New Zealand, South Africa and New Zealand at the start of their journeys. How would the men regard their first experiences of the war on board the ships and in the ports? Who would they meet and how would those encounters unfold?

Chapter Two

The Journey

As he set sail from New Zealand in 1915, William Prince was conscious of the long delay between enlisting and actually arriving on the front lines. The long sea journey deflated his excitement: ‘troopship life is getting a bit monotonous and we have a month to go yet, perhaps it will get a bit more interesting when we get up amongst strange people and foreign lands.’¹ For Prince, arrival and encounter was a highly anticipated moment. He was among the millions of colonial troops who left their homelands to travel to war. This chapter examines the journey to war for the men from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies. Their journeys and arrivals in the great ports that served to supply the various fronts with men provided a foretaste for the world of encounters that awaited them upon their final arrival.

The journeys that the men made to reach the front varied in route, length and destination. The first detachments of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force (NZEF), initially bound for England, left Wellington on 15 October 1914.² They docked at Albany, in Western Australia, before travelling through the Indian Ocean, calling at Colombo, in Ceylon (present day Sri Lanka) en route. They were approaching Aden when the message was received that they were to disembark in Egypt to help protect British interests there, as the Indian troops designated for the task were too far away. The troopships sailed through the Suez Canal and Port Said before landing in Alexandria in December 1914.³ Reinforcements for the NZEF in Egypt went from Sydney on Australian troopships. NZEF reinforcements who were sent directly to England, from July 1916 to July 1917 and between August and October 1918 took the Cape of Good Hope route. Their ships called at Hobart, Albany or Freemantle in Australia, before

¹ AWMM, MS 2011-3, Letters of William Prince, 24 November 1915.

² Matthew Wright, *Shattered Glory: The New Zealand Experience at Gallipoli and the Western Front* (London: Penguin, 2010), p. 52.

³ Wright, *Shattered Glory*, p. 52.

Mauritius, Durban or Cape Town, then Freetown in Sierra Leone before finally reaching Plymouth – a journey of over 100 days.⁴ Those sent to England between August 1917 and July 1918 travelled the other way round the globe, sailing through the Panama Canal, with calling points in Jamaica and occasionally Halifax, before docking at Liverpool or Plymouth.⁵

The men from the British West Indies Regiment (BWIR) also crossed the Atlantic on their journey from the West Indies to England on a similar route to that taken by the New Zealanders through the Panama Canal. This was a journey of about 4,000 nautical miles, taking around a month, depending on the conditions and the efficiency of the vessel. The ships steered clear of ‘the well beaten track of commerce’ in order to avoid both regular transport routes and the threat of attack from enemy ships or submarines.⁶ Unfortunately not all those who had embarked for Britain arrived there safely. The third contingent of the BWIR, comprising twenty-five officers and 1115 other ranks, sailed on the *SS Verdala* and left Jamaica on 6 March 1916. Due to enemy submarine activity in the region, the Admiralty ordered the ship to make a diversion into the far north Atlantic on a route that took them through Halifax in Nova Scotia, into freezing north waters where, improperly supplied with clothing and meeting a blizzard, 106 men of the contingent suffered from frostbite – four men had to have legs amputated and five men died from the cold.⁷

The men who travelled from South Africa mirrored the journeys of the New Zealanders who sailed on the Cape route, arriving in Plymouth or Liverpool in 1915. They did in reverse the journey that thousands of British white emigrants to South Africa had made since the acquisition of the Cape Colony in 1806. From England, the 1st South African Infantry Brigade (SAIB) were despatched to Egypt, where many served into 1917, while others

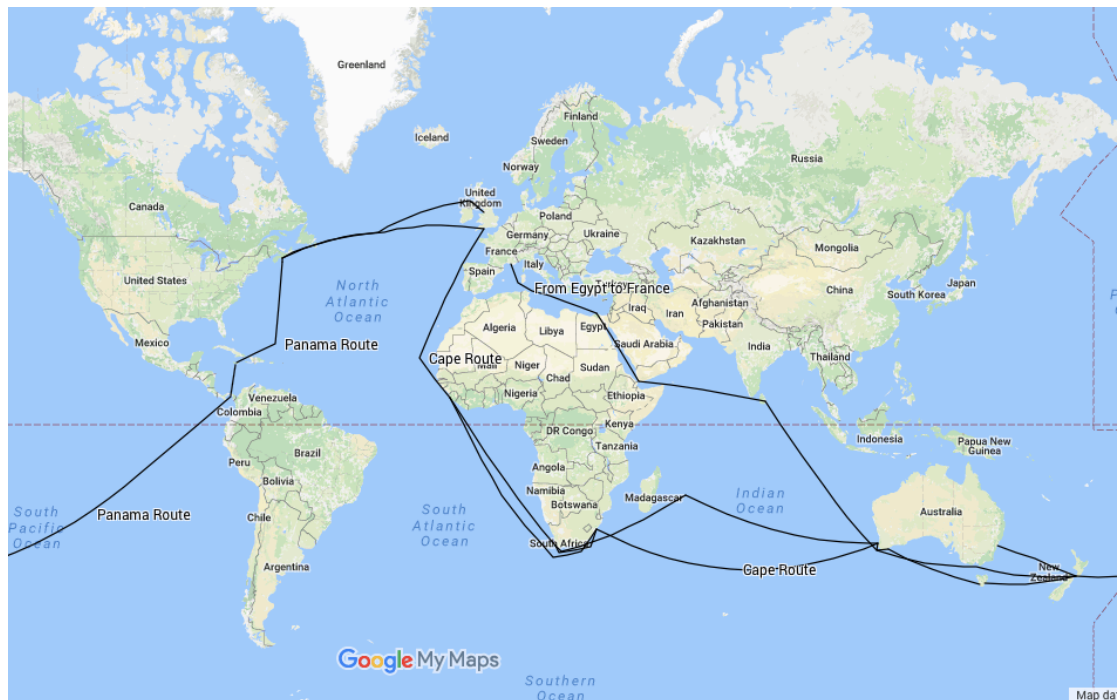
⁴ Damian Fenton, *New Zealand and the First World War, 1914-1919* (Auckland: Penguin in Association with the Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014), Maps, Front Inset.

⁵ Fenton, Front Inset.

⁶ Ramson, p. 6.

⁷ John Starling and Ivor Lee, *No Labour, No Battle: Military Labour during the First World War* (Stroud: Spellmount, 2009), p. 241.

returned to Western Europe via Marseilles in 1916.⁸ The South African Native Labour Corps (SANLC), who served only on the Western Front, sailed directly from England to France; the first contingent arrived on 20 November 1916.⁹ Interestingly, several of the SANLC transport ships stopped in Sierra Leone where at least some of the black African troops were allowed to disembark, unlike many of the white troops.¹⁰ Willan records the testimony of one member of the SANLC, Marks Mokwena, who was particularly impressed by how black people in Freetown were of ‘very high educational attainments equal to that of the best Europeans’, in contrast to the situation he had left in South Africa.¹¹ Experiences such as this could enrich the men’s understanding of the world, of their own countries – and of their own positions – as they journeyed to the war.



Map 1. The Sailing Routes of the Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies.¹²

⁸ Nason, *Springboks on the Somme*, p. 126.

⁹ Barton C. Hacker, ‘White Man’s War, Coloured Man’s Labour. Working for the British Army on the Western Front’, *Itinerario*, 38, 3, (2014), 32.

¹⁰ Willan, 78.

¹¹ Willan, 78.

¹² Produced using Google Maps. Note that the map reflects current national geographical boundaries rather than those that existed 1914-1918. Nonetheless the map usefully illustrates the various journeys the men took.

In this chapter, I examine the descriptions of going to war on troopships from the men of New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies. Despite the varying lengths of their journeys, the physical experience of the transport ships offered a form of induction to military life that can be traced in the experiences of each of the colonial groups. What did the men choose to record about their journeys over the sea? Paul Gilroy's work on the Black Atlantic is particularly productive in this context as an attempt 'to figure a de-territorialised, multiplex and anti-national basis' for affinity, in his case within diverse black populations as they crossed on the slave journeys between Africa, the West Indies and the Americas.¹³ The 'double consciousness' of cultural identity that Gilroy suggests began with the trade routes of slavery is pertinent to how we think about these wartime journeys. Would the same 'ceaseless cultural exchange' that Gilroy associates with these crossings be a part of the journeys of the First World War?¹⁴ The First World War was part of the twentieth century world of migrations and crossings; the troops' journeys became part of an intercontinental and transnational web. I further pursue this line of analysis in the troops' 'arrival' at ports on their journeys, an opportunity for expressions of identity with the accompanying triumph of having 'arrived'.¹⁵ As the boundaries of colonialism shifted as a result of the men's movements, how did they define and maintain their status and identity within the British Empire?¹⁶ The chapter is concluded with one exceptional narrative of sea travel during the First World War – the sinking of the Mendi – to explore the impact of ship and sea on narratives of the tragedy, both in contemporary and commemorative accounts.

¹³ Paul Gilroy 'Route Work: The Black Atlantic and the Politics of Exile', *The Post Colonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizons* ed. by Iain Chambers and Lidia Curti (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 18; Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and the Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 1993).

¹⁴ Charles Piot, 'Atlantic Aporias: Africa and Gilroy's Black Atlantic', *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 100 (2001), 158.

¹⁵ Elleke Boehmer, *Indian Arrivals, 1870-1915: Networks of British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 15.

¹⁶ Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, 'Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda' in *Tensions of Empire* ed. by Stoler and Cooper, p. 7.

On Board the Ship

When travelling to the war, the men had to negotiate a whole raft of political, cultural and emotional structures imposed upon them by the British Empire. Colonial and racial hierarchies were a constant presence in the way these men travelled and the mental maps they carried with them.¹⁷ What cultural baggage did they carry on these ships? There are difficulties in making generalisations about the colonial troops and their knowledge of travel. While there are some separations of race and ethnicity, class also influenced previous experiences or awareness. For example, a world of difference separated those West Indians who had travelled to Britain as students or intellectuals from those who served as seamen at the time.¹⁸ Alfred Horner, padre with the 9th Battalion of the BWIR, was a white English man who had travelled to Bermuda as a missionary and was later appointed as a rector in Barbados. In his account of the First World War, he wrote that many of his men had seen cities in the United States of America, having travelled there as young men drawn by economic opportunity.¹⁹ Elleke Boehmer has reflected on the active plying of networks and travels by 'less-than-privileged Indian lascars or seamen' in the late nineteenth century: 'they were perhaps the first Indians to develop a global awareness, an experience of the world that was mobile, multilingual, creolized, and networked'.²⁰ For those who had not travelled before, the men from the West Indies had – as islanders – at least enjoyed some contact with the sea and knew the trade ships that regularly docked in the West Indian ports. By contrast, black men in the SANLC who came from interior tribal regions had not seen the sea before. For them a journey overseas was truly novel. For white New Zealanders, the better off had frequently travelled to Britain – to visit family or for education – but others had not had the

¹⁷ By mental maps, I mean the frameworks which informed how the men thought about the new places they travelled to, a form of cultural baggage, as described by Ahuja, 'The Corrosiveness of Comparison', pp. 157-58.

¹⁸ The intellectuals in Schwarz's study are those who brought with them 'a particular vantage from which to comprehend the civilisation of the mother country', including Harold Moody, Claude McKay and Una Marson. Bill Schwarz, 'Crossing the Seas', *West Indian Intellectuals in Britain* ed. by Bill Schwarz (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 18.

¹⁹ Horner, p. 11; Concerns about West Indian Seamen who ended up waiting in Britain for employment were expressed throughout the war and after. See The National Archives (TNA), CO 318/347/5 Letter from Board of Trade, 30 April 1918.

²⁰ Boehmer, p. 9.

same opportunities. Thus a simple binary between white and non-white experience cannot be drawn.

The men made explicit reference to two points of context that informed their travel: reading cultures and familial memories. The former was influenced, of course, by literacy rates and language spoken. The diaries and letters written by the colonial troops on board the ship echoed the form of travel writing and fiction of the later nineteenth century. By writing about the voyage and about new lands, they were able to exert some control over the process and demonstrate their knowledge, including of themselves and their identities.²¹ The 'globe-trotting' or 'go-fever' written about by Rudyard Kipling could be used by the men to help them make sense of their new experiences, along with the full canon of late nineteenth century Western literary travel writing such as Mark Twain's *Innocents Abroad* (1869), Jules Verne's *Around the World in Eighty Days* (1873) and Kipling's *The Light that Failed* (1891).²² These and other works would have been familiar to many of the troops setting off for the war. When New Zealander Edward Ryburn wrote home to his family from Lemnos in 1916 and referred to himself and some pals as 'Innocents Abroad', he was drawing on the shared knowledge of Twain's travel book to help make sense of the journey he was undertaking as part of his war service.²³ Simultaneously, sensational newspaper articles about explorers peaked public interest for stories about heroes fighting against nature for national pride, from 'darkest Africa to the desolate Arctic', as written by G. A. Henty and others in *Boy's Own* magazines.²⁴ These exploration stories inevitably heightened the excitement about the new and 'foreign' lands the colonial troops would encounter. Alan Mulgan, a New Zealand

²¹ Bernard Cohn's work emphasises the conscious way in which colonial regimes went about creating categories - in this case 'British' and 'Indian' - to define themselves. Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996); Helen Carr, 'Modernism and Travel (1880-1940)', *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* ed. by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 71.

²² Sylvia Modelski, *Port Said Revisited* (Washington D.C.: Faros, 2000), p. 48.

²³ Ryburn, 18 September 1915.

²⁴ James R. Ryan, *Photography and Exploration* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), p. 8. Felicity Barnes explores the role of *Boy's Own* stories and their like in familiarising New Zealanders with travel, particularly London in *New Zealand's London: A Colony and its Metropolis* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2012), pp. 18-19.

journalist and writer, who had not served in the war but who was of the same generation as those who did, reflected on the influence of popular adventure writers on his understanding of the world.

Books had a great deal to do with the bent of my sympathies. There were always plenty available, and no restrictions were ever placed on my reading. I began with the Boy's Own Paper, which could never be accused of a lukewarm patriotism; Mayne Reid, Kingston and Ballantyne.²⁵

Mulgan's interaction with these popular imperialist and often jingoistic texts fostered connections with Britain and the British Empire from his childhood, the memory of which he took with him as he travelled to England in later life. While there is little evidence of reading cultures amongst the white dominion troops, and the colonial troops more generally, which makes it difficult to trace these cultures further, the troops' representations of travel should be read with an awareness of the role books and stories could play in influencing the communication of experience.

A more immediate form of cultural understanding for the white colonial troops was that passed on by family members who had links with Britain and who could share their own experiences. William St Leger, as an example, had been born in Britain but raised in South Africa, like many of the white South African soldiers.²⁶ St Leger sailed to Britain in May 1916 and would bring his memories of an earlier voyage to his imaginings of his journey to war, having already made the journey by ship from Britain to South Africa. Similarly, those white soldiers from New Zealand whose parents or grandparents had emigrated were able to draw upon family remembrances of earlier long sea voyages.²⁷ Having family who still lived in Britain would also help these colonial troops make sense of the journeys of empire, something that will be further explored when thinking about going on leave in Chapter Four.

Things could not have been more different for Stimela Jason Jingoos, from land locked Lesotho, encircled by South Africa, who served with the SANLC. He found the journey to

²⁵ Alan Mulgan, *Home. A New Zealander's Adventure* (London: Longmans, 1927), p. 7

²⁶ IWM, Documents 20504, Diaries of Lieutenant William St Leger.

²⁷ See Phillips and Hearn, *Settlers*, for an exploration of immigration to New Zealand.

war completely new and drew on very different ancestral experience. His journey represented not just a vast geographical distance but, as Joe Lunn has written, it ‘entailed a psychological leap of the first magnitude, as the soldiers were exposed to new ideas, attitudes, sensations and experiences that were theretofore beyond the bounds of their knowledge.’²⁸ In his oral testimony recorded by John and Cassandra Perry in the 1970s, Jingoos explained how little he had travelled as a young boy: the first time he had travelled by train was in 1915 when he went to Johannesburg as a mine labourer, a journey that ‘fascinated’ him.²⁹ Arriving in Cape Town in 1917 after his enlistment he saw the sea for the first time: ‘we all spent hours talking about it and repeating, “So this is the sea!” The thing that amazed me about it was how the sun came up out of it every morning.’³⁰ Boarding the troopship, though, offered a point of familial context as he reflected on his ancestors who had been transported as slaves: ‘I felt misgivings, but I reminded myself I was not sailing as a slave, but as a proud volunteer [...] We had accomplished a great deal in three generations.’³¹ The apprehensions of such a long and unfamiliar journey were exacerbated by the memory of slavery.³² The trans-Atlantic slave trade had seen an estimated 12 million Africans transported as human cargo in their holds, including to the West Indies; mortality levels on the slave-ships were high and around one and a half million Africans died on board.³³ The shipping and trade operated by sailors from the West Indies was also a legacy of this very slavery.³⁴ Jingoos’ explicit reflection on his people’s past suffering shows the implicit mistrust of ships as a symbol of historic trauma, as well showing his thankful awareness of *his* status as a (paid) labourer rather than a slave. Jingoos and his fellow servicemen had to reconcile their ships as a space for voluntary transport rather than enslaved trauma, a further cultural and imaginative shift.

²⁸ Lunn, p. 91.

²⁹ *A Chief is a Chief by the People*, p. 61.

³⁰ *A Chief is a Chief by the People*, p. 76.

³¹ *A Chief is a Chief by the People*, p. 78.

³² Lunn, p. 100.

³³ James Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery* (London: Penguin Books, 2007), p. 68, p. 73.

³⁴ James Walvin, *Slaves and Slavery: The British Colonial Experience* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), p. 59.



Men of the Australian and New Zealand Division on a transport ship to Gallipoli, 1915.³⁵

By boarding the ship, the men entered a vessel that transported them both physically and metaphorically across the seas from civilian to military life. John Ramson, a white Jamaican man – the son of an archdeacon – who, like Horner, offered his services to the BWIR as a chaplain with the 6th battalion, described watching families on the wharf before ‘the darkness came, noiselessly, calmly, softly, enveloping and blotting out everything except the stars of God’.³⁶ Stanley Natusch of the Canterbury Regiment of the NZEF recorded the sheer scale of troops massed on the ship’s deck at Christchurch, reminiscent of the photograph above: ‘At the same time the greyness of the *Athenic* transforms at one sweep of the magicians brush to a living seething Khaki.’³⁷ The shipping of colonial troops in khaki across the world during the war added new layers of experience to existing international maritime networks, what Jonathan Hyslop has called ‘the trans-imperial web’ of the ‘steamship empire’.³⁸ The men became part of the world of Atlantic and Indian Ocean trade, which included the African and Asian sailors who were a central component to British marine power with the full

³⁵ IWM, Photographs, Q 13798.

³⁶ Ramson, p. 4.

³⁷ Natusch, 24 September 1914.

³⁸ Jonathan Hyslop, ‘Steamship Empire: Asian, African and British Sailors in the Merchant Marine, c. 1880-1945’, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 44, 1 (2009), 50.

development of steamship power from 1880.³⁹ Their journeys echoed long-established trade routes, including those of the slave trade, as they made journeys that, though not comprehensively ‘forced’, represented the obligation of the colonies to support the fate of the British Empire.

The men on board the ships experienced similar moments of crossings and diaspora to those that Paul Gilroy has described. Of course, the vicious racial dynamics that fuelled slavery were not identical to the experiences of the colonial troops, though they remained a significant part of the experience of the non-white men. Different, too, is the introduction of white experience to think about broader colonial identities in this analysis, where Gilroy’s work was necessarily firmly centred on diverse black populations, though his non-inclusion of African and South American populations in his *Black Atlantic* have been criticised.⁴⁰ Gilroy’s argument highlights the hybrid and inter-cultural productions created as part of the ‘identity of passions’ between the various black populations and their cultural exchange on an intercontinental basis, viewing the ship as a cultural and political unit.⁴¹ The experience of crossing the Atlantic and being part of this diaspora created, Gilroy argues, ‘a unique body of reflections on modernity’ in which these populations experienced a double consciousness, able to be inside this modernity, but also outside it and able to expose its shortcomings.⁴² How far can this conception of sea travel be extended beyond Gilroy’s examples? Did these transport ships become spaces of cultural production for the development of a double consciousness about the empire or of ‘anti-national’ identities?⁴³ The experience of being dislocated could fuel anti-colonial movements for equality, as Richard Smith has highlighted,

³⁹ Hyslop, 53.

⁴⁰ Ntongela Masilela, ‘The “Black Atlantic” and African Modernity in South Africa’, *Research in African Literatures*, 27, 4 (1996).

⁴¹ Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, p. 17.

⁴² Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, p. 45. I return to the idea of the ‘inside/outside’ relationship when examining the ambiguities of colonial identity in the metropolis in Chapter Four, building on Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 34.

⁴³ Gilroy, ‘Route Work’, p. 18.

particularly in the case of the black troops from the West Indies and South Africa. Did this begin during the time the spent on board the troopship travelling to the war?⁴⁴

It is difficult to generalise about the nature of the troopships' space: the demands of war saw a range of vessels deployed as troopships, from trading vessels to cruisers. Those who staffed the ships varied in race and ethnicity: the men could find themselves for the first time encountering lascars from the engine room or the ordinary seamen who were the de facto servants of their white British officers.⁴⁵ Stimela Jason Jingoos recorded conversations with Cassim, an Indian batman, whose own travel experience made him 'well informed'.

"I've been there," he told us on the ship, "and I assure you that there is no colour bar in England or France."
"You tell a good story, my friend," we mocked him,
"As you look at me, I am a French-speaker."
We only laughed louder.⁴⁶

The SANLC used Cassim's ability to translate once they arrived in France, as well as testing his claims about 'colour bars' in their encounters with the civilian population. Even for those men who interacted only with others in their own contingent or battalion, this could constitute new contact, bridging tribal or ethnic lines. The two West Indian padres Alfred Horner and John Ramson were on the same ship, with men from the Bahamas and Barbados, bringing together two different island identities.⁴⁷ Jingoos mixed with other black African tribes.⁴⁸ For the New Zealanders, the transport of Maori and white troops together brought about a form of encounter. Though theoretically 'amalgamated', integration was nowhere near complete in New Zealand, particularly in South Island, and while a Maori contingent had served during the Anglo-Boer War, this was not in an integrated battalion.⁴⁹ As such, the

⁴⁴ Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 6.

⁴⁵ Conrad Dixon, 'Lascars: The Forgotten Seamen', *Working Men Who Got Wet: Proceedings of the Fourth Conference of the Atlantic Canada Shipping Project* ed. by Rosemary Ommer and Gerald Pointing (Newfoundland: Maritime History Group, Memorial University of Newfoundland Press, 1980), p. 270.

⁴⁶ *A Chief is a Chief*, p. 81.

⁴⁷ Ramson, p. 5. Catherine Hall provides a valuable reflection on the many meanings of the terms West Indies and West Indian that reveal the simultaneity of multiple identities involved. Catherine Hall, 'What is a West Indian?', *West Indian Intellectuals* ed. by Schwarz, pp. 31-50.

⁴⁸ *A Chief is a Chief*, p. 77.

⁴⁹ James Bennett, 'Maori as honorary members of the white tribe', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 29, 3 (2001), 36. Pugsley, 'Images of Te Hokowhitu a Tu', p. 196.

troopships were a melange of regional, national, tribal, ethnic and class groups, which might facilitate inter-cultural production along the lines that Gilroy describes.

However, most of the accounts of time on board the ship focused on the physical experience of travel by sea: the monotony, cramped living conditions and seasickness.⁵⁰ Eric Hames, of the Otago Regiment, wrote of the boredom of his journey from New Zealand to Glasgow in 1917: 'about the most exciting thing that happened for three weeks was the sight of a dead whale.'⁵¹ Similarly, Captain Miller, of the SAIB, wrote that the journey had been,

Most uninteresting, the more so as room anywhere had been at a premium. The men have to get through their meals in four sittings, the officers in two. We are consequently eating all day. There has been no opportunity for exercise of any kind - the rest can be imagined.⁵²

The lack of space that Miller referred to was a common phenomenon for the ranks on board the ship, regardless of race, instead determined by class and status. As a captain, he sympathised with the men in his charge: 'the lot of the men in the ranks on a trooper is not an enviable one. He has precious few compensations of any kind and his discomforts are legion.'⁵³ Horner described his BWIR battalion on the journey from the Bahamas to Jamaica: 'in fair weather we were a crush, in foul weather we were something far worse, hardly to be imagined, impossible to describe'.⁵⁴ The ships' constraints rendered the men ugly, something 'hardly to be imagined' as the sea wracked their bodies. Hames described the deep discomfort endured by the New Zealand troops in his battalion.

The floor was covered with tables, separated only by the forms we sat on, and above hung the hammocks in which we slept. Sleeping we made a solid mass of men overhead and when the boat rolled we moved as one. Here we lived, moved and had our being for just under 8 weeks. It was an ideal breeding ground for an epidemic.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ A Senegalese soldier recalled that 'you were in the boat and you could do nothing except to sit there and wait until you arrived', Lunn, p. 24.

⁵¹ IWM, Documents 5515, Memoir of Eric Hames, p. 8.

⁵² Captain Miller, *With the Springboks in Egypt by 'Captain': A Brief Description of the Work of the 1st South African Infantry Brigade on the Western Frontier of Egypt* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1916), p. 1. Miller's first name is never given to retain his anonymity.

⁵³ Miller, p.11.

⁵⁴ Horner, p. 6.

⁵⁵ Hames, p. 8.

Mention of the constrictions of the ship, limiting the individual selfhood of the men, making them move ‘as one’, recurs frequently in the accounts from all three colonies, as they struggled in a space overwhelmed by bodies, living and sleeping in close proximity to each other. The role of class is evident: where Hames became anonymous in the ‘mass’ of sleeping men who formed the lower ranks, Miller was separate from the ‘the lot’ of the ranks, an individual because he was an officer.

If class and rank determined living conditions, seasickness or *mal de mer* was a more democratic experience. Seasickness revealed how the trajectory of war impacted physically on the body in introspective narratives. As Reginald Donald of the NZEF reflected while sailing to Egypt in 1915, ‘no account of a sea trip can be complete without reference to it; to omit it is to lose touch with human feelings and that surely is tragic.’⁵⁶ The vulnerability of the individual men replaced the homogenous view of the troops being transported and the physical repercussions were translated into the men’s writing. Rather than any particular ‘double consciousness’, time on the ship provoked a more in-depth reflection by the troops on themselves and their physical condition at sea. Natusch noted, ‘you may notice I now write quite dispassionately about the sea; for the time it has ceased to trouble me.’⁵⁷ Rikihana Carkeek, a clerk from Wellington who served with the First Maori Contingent from 1914, wrote: ‘the seas were mountainous but the *Warrimoo* was weathering it well. A large number of the troops are seasick. I’ve had no ill effects. It’s the best I’ve ever felt.’⁵⁸ Ramson recalled of his BWIR men that ‘before the close of the first day, many were in the throes of *mal de mer*’ but he, proudly, was one of the few who made it to breakfast.⁵⁹ The sea’s power and unpredictability were often referred to and avoiding seasickness was an indicator of a strong constitution and gave the impression of being well travelled. Jingoos recalled a particularly harrowing experience through the Bay of Biscay. ‘Have you ever come across that sea? When

⁵⁶ IWM, Documents 14968, Diary and Letters of 2nd Lieutenant Reginald Donald, 22 November 1915.

⁵⁷ Natusch, 4 October 1914.

⁵⁸ Carkeek, 15 February 1915.

⁵⁹ Ramson, p. 5.

I think of going overseas, now, my trouble comes up when I think of that bay. It was a very wild sea.’⁶⁰

The on-board entertainments that took place gives us a more explicit insight into cultural production on troopships. ‘Crossing the line’ ceremonies, a familiar trope of sailing narratives, most often occurred when crossing the equator, as the New Zealanders and South Africans did, although variations are enacted for passing the tropics, the international date line and the Arctic Circle.⁶¹ The ceremony represented a point of transition, moving from one hemisphere to another as well as a form of induction to sea travel and service.⁶² New Zealander Randolph Gray was surprised that, for such a significant boundary, ‘the old tub didn’t bump a bit. We didn’t even need to let the masts down to get across’, reflecting his own inexperience of sea travel.⁶³ The accompanying ceremony was less about cultural exchange, than the introduction of a much-rehearsed ceremonial practice to the new recruits. Edward Dotish, a British-born South African soldier, thought this the ‘most amusing’ incident of his time on the ship: ‘there in all his pomp and majesty appeared Father Neptune, with patriarchal beard and trident of office.’⁶⁴ The ceremony was not without risk though: it still took place in the ship’s limited space. William Redmayne recalled in an oral history interview that ‘a bit of a tragedy’ had occurred on board his ship.

We had a sort of canvas thing full of water and they were throwing everybody in that who hadn’t crossed the line before. And this officer came along, a medical officer, and they were going to throw him in. He said he’d jump in. He took a header - and broke his neck. He didn’t realise it was just shallow. He hit the deck. We had the funeral at Colombo.⁶⁵

Henry Kitson’s letters reflected how news of this horrific accident had spread throughout the NZEF at the time; on his ship they ‘would not allow a Neptune Party on crossing the line as

⁶⁰ *A Chief is a Chief*, p. 79.

⁶¹ Simon J. Bronner, *Crossing the Line: Violence, Play, and Drama in Naval Equator Traditions* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), p. 8.

⁶² Bronner, p. 24.

⁶³ Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL), MS-Group-2302, Letters of Randolph Gray, 1 November 1915.

⁶⁴ Edward Dotish, *The First Springbok Prisoner in Germany* (London: Nast McBride, 1917), p. 21.

⁶⁵ William Redmayne, *An Awfully Big Adventure: New Zealand World War One Veterans tell their stories* ed. by Jane Tolerton (Auckland: Penguin, 2013), p. 42.

in the Main Body one man was killed and quite a few were injured. We had sports instead'.⁶⁶

While the naval tradition was well intended and certainly disrupted the monotony of the journey, this was not a function of the dislocation of empire or a new cultural practice but a symbol of the men's newfound worldliness as sea travellers. The tradition loomed large in the troops' consciousness – it was a rare 'event' in an otherwise monotonous journey. It gave the men a sense of belonging to a long-sea-faring tradition, and was an experience shared by all, unmediated by boundaries of rank.

The singing of songs by the massed ranks of those on a ship could be a rousing and momentous experience. Gilroy has reflected that music can 'be used to challenge the privileged conceptions of both language and writing as preeminent expression of human consciousness'.⁶⁷ Though instances of singing were mainly captured in writing, it remained a form of expression for those who were non-literate. It could foster a shared identity: as they set sail from Dover for Calais, Jingo's battalion of the SANLC sang songs such as 'Home Sweet Home'.⁶⁸ Horner wrote down a similar song sung by the BWIR: 'in our sleep, we'll dream of you/Our own dear Home, Sweet Home', both probably based on the internationally popular Henry Bishop piece.⁶⁹ Marcus Rediker notes singing as one of the recurrent sounds of the slaves on the slave ship, where men sang songs 'from and about their native cultures'.⁷⁰ In a similar way, the South African and West Indian songs of home were an oral encapsulation of their cultures and identity. Songs might even be developed on board to represent the particular troopship: James Williamson wrote of the 'awful' boat song that was composed on board his ship about coming from New Zealand.⁷¹ Regardless of the song's musical standard, it remained an expression of national identity, which Williamson remembered long after the war's end. Equally, for those fortunate to have audio equipment, the music of home could be richly reproduced on board the ship; New Zealander Fabian

⁶⁶ ATL, MS-Group-2082, Letters and diary of Henry Kitson, Letter, 8 March 1915.

⁶⁷ Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, p. 74.

⁶⁸ *A Chief is a Chief*, p. 82.

⁶⁹ Horner, p. 2.

⁷⁰ Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (London: John Murray, 2007), p. 282.

⁷¹ IWM, Documents 11515, Memoir of James Williamson, p 10.

Sperry described the ‘grand sing songs’ they had at night on the deck, singing ‘the old songs we used to have on the phonographs and it makes me think of home’.⁷² These songs of home, whether developed by the men, or sung and played, could be disseminated to other ships within earshot. Ramson recalled BWIR singing on his troop ship and: ‘so full was the volume of sound poured forth in our singing that the soldiers in these (American) transports all crowded to the sides of their ships to listen, when we were holding service.’⁷³ This is the closest, as far as we know, that music on board the ship comes to being a kind of cultural exchange; music and singing certainly had a role in developing a sense of community for those on board who came from the same ‘homes’, using existing music and especially when they developed their own music, but it was not an intercultural product at this stage.

Despite the different cultures that shaped how the men conceived of travel, the narratives of actually being on board the ships were remarkably similar, reflecting the uniform way in which the armed forces had initiated the men to sea travel. All felt the impact of the restrictions of space the motion of the sea on their bodies, as well as seasickness and boredom. While there were occasional opportunities for encounter on board, as in the case of Jingoos and Cassim, and engagement with cultural activities and ceremonial practices, very little of what Gilroy has described in the ships of the Black Atlantic occurred in these sea narratives. Though the transports of the First World War were part of the transnational networks of sea crossings, rarely did the colonial troops’ reflections while on board engage with anti-colonial cultures. Instead, the men marked the physical impacts of the ship on themselves and how they bonded with those they travelled with, whom they would serve alongside. Would arriving into ports provoke a more complex sense of identity?

Off the Ship: Ports

The limited opportunities for entertainment and general boredom increased the men’s anticipation of their arrival at their destinations, as ‘active’ troops and experienced travellers,

⁷² AWMM, MS 99-92, Papers of Fabian Sperry, November 1914.

⁷³ Ramson, p. 6.

ready for war. While the troops were physically confined in their ships, the vessels were steadily making their way towards their final destination, adding another layer to the networks of colonial sea travel. Hyslop adapts 'Tony Ballantyne's model of global webs as a 'heuristic tool for conceptualizing the networks of empire and their cultural traffic' to think about the world of Indian Ocean sailors, which intersected with imperial diasporic populations and structures.⁷⁴ The journeys of colonial troops represented further entanglements in this web and as the men docked at ports along the transport routes, they interacted with these contact zones. Port towns and cities were part of the imperial structures, forming nexus points for diasporic populations, for existing colonial populations and for the transitory populations who briefly called there. Albany and Hobart in Australia, Freetown in Sierra Leone, Colombo in Ceylon and Cape Town and Durban were all well used ports during the war. I use examples from the New Zealand troops in the South African ports and in Colombo to consider the initial moments of arrival. These included engagement in elitist travel cultures, such as white New Zealand soldiers riding in rickshaws, and the explicit acknowledgement of racial hierarchies and prejudices, using Maori examples. By disembarking from the ships, albeit briefly, the men had their first experiences of encounter with 'other' colonial populations. How did the men use their representations of 'arrival' to think about their nationality and ethnicity, but also their military status as newly enlisted troops?

Riding in rickshaws in Ceylon or Durban was part of touring the colonies, a sightseeing activity during the stop off. As Peter Mackay described in Colombo in 1914, 'It was a glorious change after the dull routine of the boat [...] I spent an hour or so in one going round seeing the sights of the city.'⁷⁵ But riding in rickshaws also presented an opportunity to engage in white elitist and racist behaviour, at the expense of non-white men. The white people Randolph Gray saw in Ceylon in November 1915 passed the troops in 'rickshaws and motors

⁷⁴ Ballantyne, *Between Colonialism and Diaspora*, p. 69; Hyslop, 52.

⁷⁵ National Army Museum New Zealand (NAMNZ), 2010.91.1, Letters of Peter Mackay, 23 November 1914.

– all of them looking white faced and over fed’, symbols of imperial indulgence and power.⁷⁶

Writing from Durban in June 1917, Norman Coop ‘came back to boat at 10 in a rickshore (sic), it was nice, a big black fellow’.⁷⁷ Fabian Sperry’s account more explicitly described the exploitation of black men pulling rickshaws for the white soldiers: ‘It seemed so funny to sit in a little cart and have a nigger pull you around, they can get around too.’⁷⁸ He went on to describe the ‘boys’ paying the rickshaw workers to race: ‘When some of the boys got a bit merry you would see them going up the street standing up in the rickshaw and belting the poor nigger to make him go faster.’⁷⁹ Almost as an afterthought he added, ‘we thought it was great fun but I do not know what they thought about it.’⁸⁰ Retrospectively, some of the men acknowledged the problems with this practice. Interviewed by Jane Tolerton in 1988 shortly before his death, Bill Elder described his own discomfort in Cape Town:

I could hear this black fellow deep breathing, pulling me along, and I thought, isn’t that terrible to have another human being to be a horse to me? It hurt me; I’ve never overcome that feeling.⁸¹

The demob mentality of the men and their initial recognition as soldiers in the port towns, with its associated prestige, saw their engagement with an existing racially abusive practice – non-white men pulling rickshaws and the white people riding in them – that could become even more abusive.⁸² The men’s engagement with the existing tourist infrastructure was a way of ensuring that others would perceive them as elite. Rather than a sense of shared colonial identity or the ability to reflect upon colonialism by arrival in another colony – a form of double consciousness – the white New Zealanders easily slipped into and reconfirmed the dominant racist culture of the empire.

The need to present a distinct identity from the populations of the ports was particularly important for the Maori troops. As discussed in Chapter One, the Maori people were

⁷⁶ Gray, 5 November 1915.

⁷⁷ NAMNZ, MSS-038, Papers of Norman Coop, 12 June 1917.

⁷⁸ Sperry, November 1914.

⁷⁹ Sperry, November 1914.

⁸⁰ Sperry, November 1914.

⁸¹ Bill Elder, *An Awfully Big Adventure* ed. by Tolerton, p. 111.

⁸² John Maguire described the greeting he received in Durban as the first New Zealanders to dock there: ‘We got the reception of our lives. People threw oranges at us by the hundred, and many cigarettes.’ AWMM, MS 2002-165, War Reminiscence of John Maguire.

understood to be high-status non-white people, partly due to myths about their Caucasian or Aryan heritage and partly due to their martial associations as mythical warriors. While, in New Zealand, Maori were nominally supposed to have equality with the white population, they came into contact with both white and non-white ‘others’ as they docked in port. In Cape Town and Durban, these encounters occurred in the context of racially divided South Africa. While Maori accounts do not reflect upon this experience, some of their white compatriots did. Elder recalled that there were 120 Maori aboard their ship, who performed a haka when they docked at Cape Town. He had to reassure the frightened white South African woman sitting next to him that “‘It’s all right, just calm down’” as she recoiled from the ‘threatening’ movements of the unfamiliar non-white men.⁸³ Bert Stokes, who was on the same ship as Elder and interviewed in the same year, recalled discrimination when the New Zealanders were served tea by some of the local women.

We saw that the Maoris were not getting anything. So we said to one of the ladies, “What about our friends here?” “Oh we can’t serve them.” So we had to go and get the tea and cakes and take it to the Maoris.⁸⁴

Elder seems to have been particularly keen to present himself as conscious of and against the racial discrimination suffered by the Maoris but both he and Stokes presented their experience as they remembered seventy years after the event. The accounts reveal how these brief port stays informed the men’s awareness of broader colonial and racial hierarchies and a desire for the New Zealanders to stay together in a national grouping, integrating the Maori further in the face of severe racial divisions.

In Maori accounts of reaching ports, encounters with other non-white groups needed careful negotiation. When Rikihana Carkeek described docking in Colombo, the actions taken to guarantee the Maori’s elevated position within the racial hierarchy of the British Empire become clear. “The coolies coaling our boat made a great commotion. They are a very scraggy looking people with poor physique. We threw pennies into the harbour for the coolies to dive

⁸³ Elder, *An Anfully Big Adventure* ed. by Tolerton, p. 111.

⁸⁴ Bert Stokes, *An Anfully Big Adventure* ed. by Tolerton, p. 111.

after'.⁸⁵ Peter Stanley has argued that, for Australian soldiers, the encounters with natives in ports 'reflected their racial assumptions and their belief in the essential superiority of what they thought of as the White Race'.⁸⁶ This idea of superiority was not unique to white men. Carkeek used his description to define his position in relation to these other non-white men, a reminder of the existence of a hierarchy of non-white men, rather than a white/non-white binary, in which Maori men were presented as superior.⁸⁷ As Stoler and Cooper have established, one of the basic tensions of Empire was that 'the otherness of the colonised persons was neither inherent nor stable: his or her difference had to be defined and maintained'.⁸⁸ Carkeek's construction of difference between himself and the 'coolies' of Ceylon used the same techniques to ensure recognition of his relative superior status and difference from these other non-white men, criticising their noise, their bodies, their poverty. The accounts of time at ports serve to illustrate the themes that the men interacted with as they arrived at their destinations and began encounters in more depth: racial anxiety and prejudice, performative and represented identity, elitism and prestige. The New Zealanders engaged in activities that ensured their racial superiority from the populations of the ports, either by emphasising racial divisions, by riding in rickshaws, or demonstrating more 'progressive' attitudes than the white South Africans, an interesting double standard. This was not an opportunity to foster affinity between diverse groups, as in Gilroy's work, but was a time when the men clearly highlighted real and imagined differences to bolster their own identities.

Exceptional Travel: The Sinking of the Mendi

While the men became part of a complex web of transnational mobility, even stopping in ports did not ensure that transport ships became cultural units for exchange and production. Dislocating or de-territorialising the colonial troops had not brought them into affinity with

⁸⁵ Carkeek, 11 March 1915.

⁸⁶ Peter Stanley, 'He was black, he was a White man, and a dinkum Aussie': race and empire in revisiting the Anzac legend', *Race, Empire and First World War Writing* ed. by Das, p. 223.

⁸⁷ Bennett, 'Maori as honorary members', 37.

⁸⁸ Stoler and Cooper, p. 7.

the other dislocated groups. Instead, what dominated the accounts of the journey was the experience of the ship and the sea. I end this chapter with an exceptional account of sailing to war, to think further about the physical impact of the journey on the bodies of the colonial troops. Speaking at the ninetieth anniversary of the sinking of the *Mendi* in 2007, Lindiwe Mabuza, the South African High Commissioner, remembered the 607 men from the SANLC who drowned in the English Channel.⁸⁹

Their souls are not sitting well in the English Channel, and ours are not very healthy as long as we do not do what is right, what is necessary [...] if we don't tell and retell their story, they would definitely have died in vain.⁹⁰

On the night of 21 February 1917, the *SS Mendi* was struck and almost cut in half by the *SS Darro* as she was returning from Marseilles.⁹¹ This was the largest single loss of life for the non-combatants in the SANLC and has become the symbol for commemoration of their service, represented and remembered more than the other experiences of this labour corps.⁹² In this section, I use memories of the *Mendi* to think about the relationships between the colonial troops, their ships and the sea in South African accounts of the sinking.

The *Mendi* was a journey interrupted for the non-white South African men travelling to the Western Front. The first 950 men of the SANLC arrived in France in November 1916, having made the journey from Cape Town to Liverpool and then across to the continent.⁹³ By 19 February 1917, the fifth battalion had arrived safely at Le Havre on 19 February 1917, just two days before the *Mendi* sank.⁹⁴ On the night 21 February, in thick fog, 19km south of St Catherine's Point on the Isle of Wight, the *SS Darro*, a much larger ship, struck the *Mendi* as it crossed the English Channel from Plymouth to arrive in Le Havre.⁹⁵ The *Darro* survived the collision but the *Mendi* sank; some of the men were killed on the point of impact. A court inquiry found the *Darro*'s master, Henry Stump, completely guilty for the accident; he only

⁸⁹ Clothier, p. 3.

⁹⁰ Lindiwe Mabuza, South African high commissioner, quoted by Maev Kennedy, 'Ninety years on, South Africa salutes 600 men left to drown in Channel', *Guardian*.
<<https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2007/jul/21/world.southafrica>> [accessed: 24 July 2016]

⁹¹ Clothier, p. 45.

⁹² Clothier, p. 45.

⁹³ Hacker, 32.

⁹⁴ Willan, 71.

⁹⁵ Clothier, p. 3.

had his shipping licence suspended for twelve months.⁹⁶ The tragedy provoked mourning throughout South Africa. There was ‘an unprecedented spectacle’ when the entire South African House of Assembly rose in silence on 9 March 1917 as a mark of respect.⁹⁷ South African Prime Minister Louis Botha gave an address commending the native participation in the war and led an unopposed motion including a resolve ‘to record an expression of its sincere sympathy with the relatives of the deceased officers, non-commissioned officers and natives in their bereavement.’⁹⁸ The loss of life in the Mendi disaster determined its status as a national tragedy, which briefly superseded racial divisions.

The Mendi’s commemoration as an event of national significance has been indelibly linked to the political, social and cultural climate of South Africa. Albert Grundlingh’s study of Mendi Day and other commemorations reveals how the SANLC’s experience was consistently in flux in its co-option and rejection across the twentieth century by the governing apartheid powers and those fighting for black rights in South Africa. Memorials to the Mendi and the SANLC were erected near Dieppe in France, in Umtata, New Brighton, Langa and Soweto and recently at the University of Cape Town campus. Yet remembrance of the Mendi extended ‘beyond the erection of monuments. This was considered too important an occurrence “to be allowed to fade from the memory of a nation”.’⁹⁹ In 1986, the South African Government gave formal recognition of SANLC service with a bronze plaque depicting the sinking of the Mendi among the mural decorations of the museum at Delville Wood, their National War Memorial.¹⁰⁰ The ‘mutating memories’ of the Mendi across the twentieth century have to a certain extent surpassed recognition of the labour contribution made by the SANLC, though cultural events during the centenary, including the play *A Day*,

⁹⁶ Hacker, 32.

⁹⁷ Willan, 62.

⁹⁸ Willan, 62.

⁹⁹ Grundlingh, ‘Mutating Memories’, 21.

¹⁰⁰ Grundlingh, ‘Mutating Memories’, 21.

Across, have broadened the country's awareness of black South African soldiers during the First World War.¹⁰¹

What has been reflected upon less frequently is the role of the ship and the sea as part of the Mendi narrative. The sinking of the Mendi is remembered in Britain within a memorial for those lost at sea, the Hollybrook Memorial near Southampton. The SANLC accounts for almost one third of the names on the list.¹⁰² Few of the men of the SANLC had even seen the sea prior to their journey overseas, as established above, and their cultural memory of the sea rested upon narratives of the slave trade. Their trepidation about sailing overseas was fearfully and tragically confirmed by the Mendi sinking and those yet to leave South Africa were aghast to realise the scale of what had happened. Jingoos, whose contingent sailed just after the Mendi sunk was informed by one of the officers: 'our hearts fell. "I do not mean to imply", continued the Major, "that your ship, also, will be sunk, but you ought to know what has happened."'”¹⁰³ Rumours about the Mendi persisted for the rest of the war, including one horrific story of a colonel beating off drowning men of the SANLC with an oar when they tried to cling to his dinghy. Jingoos recalled that those who witnessed this would eventually give evidence against the colonel in a military tribunal.¹⁰⁴

The oral testimonies of Mendi survivors reflect on the ship and the sea in their narratives. While troopships had a physical impact on the men on board, none was so perilous as a ship that sank. Jacob Koos Matli, one of the few survivors of the Mendi, gave an oral testimony in 1963, with a brief introduction from the interviewer, M. D. W. Jeffreys who declared a desire to share an account of this tragedy: remembering the men gave meaning to their loss.¹⁰⁵ Matli himself dwelt on the need to remember the Mendi. George Mathibe, another SANLC man,

¹⁰¹ *A Day, Across* developed and directed by Sanjin Muftic was performed in the Cape Town Fringe Festival, based on reading Grundlingh's research. <<http://adayacross.tumblr.com>> [accessed: 5 April 2016]

¹⁰² Hollybrook Memorial, Commonwealth War Graves <<http://www.cwgc.org/find-a-cemetery/cemetery/142019/HOLLYBROOK%20MEMORIAL,%20SOUTHAMPTON>> [accessed: 2 August 2016].

¹⁰³ *A Chief is a Chief*, p. 78.

¹⁰⁴ *A Chief is a Chief*, p.92.

¹⁰⁵ M.D.W. Jeffreys, 'The Mendi and After', *Africana Notes and News* (March 1963).

apparently told him on the sinking ship, “‘Koos we are about to die but one of us will live to tell at home how members of the tribe had died with the ship *Mendi*, but I hope it will be you so that you will be able to relate the story.’”¹⁰⁶ Matli’s narrative described the events of the night. His company had just returned to bed after being on duty in the boiler room when they heard ‘a very big sound like a cannon’s, and the ship blowing its whistles all the time.’¹⁰⁷ At the alarm, the men started to run towards the upper deck and the stairs were crowded. Matli described pressing himself into the crowd in order to escape the lower decks but a much bigger man then pulled him back. ‘As soon as he passed me I held onto his jacket and he did not seem to mind, because he kept on shoving and pushing other men until he got on the deck.’¹⁰⁸ The limited, crowded space of the ship intensified in this moment of crisis. Escaping the ship, though, meant entering the water. Matli recalled that while some of the men were trying to untie the lifeboats hanging on the sides, others were already in the sea.¹⁰⁹ Eventually he decided to enter the water, clinging to the rails of the ship to stop himself from falling where it was sinking. Matli’s description of leaving the ship was in stark contrast to the ‘arrival’ experienced by other troops as they docked in ports. Eventually, Matli was rescued but the trauma of the experience would stay with him: on another transport ship during the war ‘every time I heard the whistles I would jump up and tell the sailors that this ship was also sinking’.¹¹⁰

The Xhosa poet S. E. K. Mqhayi captured the image of the sinking ship in ‘The Sinking of the Mendi’, published shortly after the event in 1917.¹¹¹ Written as a traditional praise poem to laud the Mendi dead, Mqhayi wrote too of the importance of remembering the Mendi as part of the sacrifice that black men were making for the British: ‘Our blood on that ship turned things around/It served to make us known through the world!’¹¹² This tragedy would,

¹⁰⁶ Jeffreys, 184.

¹⁰⁷ Jeffreys, 183.

¹⁰⁸ Jeffreys, 183.

¹⁰⁹ Jeffreys, 184.

¹¹⁰ Jeffreys, 186.

¹¹¹ Gerhard Genis, ‘The “bit-less” corpse or mannequin manqué: South African Great War poetic embodiment 1914-1918’, *Scrutiny* 2, 20 (2015), 11.

¹¹² S. E. K. Mqhayi, ‘The Sinking of the Mendi’, *Poetry International*, translated by Antjie Krog, Ncebakazi Saliwa and Koos Oosthuizen.

he implored, help rally the cause for black equality in South Africa. “This is how we build ourselves, as ourselves. Remember the saying of the old people: “Nothing comes down, without coming down.””¹¹³ Mqhayi drew the reader back to the site of the tragedy. It was because ‘the ship couldn’t carry its precious cargo’, that black men’s blood was spilled so far from their homes. Rather than the setting for transnational crossings, the sea became even more dangerous and threatening. Part of the Mendi’s tragedy was that the men’s bodies could not be retrieved and laid to rest. The motifs of water and the sea have been drawn upon in the contemporary commemorative projects of Shawn Sobers in Bristol – another major British port – in *Inconsequential Moments*’ and *‘African Kinship Systems: Emotional Science – Case Study: The Fate of the SS Mendi’*.¹¹⁴ Underwater portraits of former soldiers of African-heritage, a means of personal commemoration and remembrance, presented alongside coastal and water landscapes near the Isle of Wight, are deeply evocative in their attempt to overcome the physical loss of the bodies of the SANLC men and in their connection to contemporary conflict and commemoration.

By including the Mendi in my analysis of war journeys I have attempted to reinsert the place of the ship and the sea in the narrative of its commemoration. While nationally symbolic and a starting point for scholarship on the service of the SANLC, this was also a maritime story. Lost at sea, in the midst of their very first voyage, the ship that ‘failed’ raises further questions about the Mendi and the sea.¹¹⁵ My initial reflections here have illuminated maritime imagery within the impetus to commemorate, through the oral history of Matli, in Mqhayi’s poem and in the work of Shawn Sobers. The story of the Mendi as a journey interrupted offers a counter perspective to the transnational networks created by sea travel. Instead of reaching

<<http://www.poetryinternationalweb.net/pi/site/poem/item/13291/auto/SINKING-OF-THE-MENDI>> [accessed: 26 July 2016]

¹¹³ S. E. K. Mqhayi, ‘The Sinking of the Mendi’.

¹¹⁴ Bristol 2014: The City and Conflict from the First World War to the Present Day.

<<http://www.bristol2014.com/arts-projects/shawn-sobers-with-rob-mitchell.html#.V5NAfjZ3Xz>> [accessed: 2 August 2016]

¹¹⁵ A conference in February 2017 on the centenary of the Mendi will commemorate the event and seeks to further explore black southern African perspectives on the sea. “Ukutshona kukaMendi”/ “Ukuzika kukaMendi”: The Mendi Centenary Conference.

<<http://www.africanstudies.uct.ac.za/cas/features/2016/mendi/conference>> [accessed: 2 August 2016]

France and experiencing war service there, as recollected by Jingoos and investigated in the forthcoming chapters to think about race and encounters and their consequences, the men ended their journeys in the middle of the English Channel.

For the men from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies, boarding the ship was a moment of induction, a symbol of their complete entrance into the war, the physical creation of distance between life as a civilian and life in the armies of the British Empire, that was also fraught with danger. The chapter has begun to introduce the cultural frameworks in which the troops existed and which would shape their expectations as they entered their military service. What is particularly important is the place of family networks and cultures: the legacies which the troops inherited from their own families and how these were reciprocated through the men's communication of their own experiences of travel and 'arrival' to those left behind at home.

The limits of the ship's space served to heighten anticipation of the experience ahead, not solely the beginning of military duties, but more often the new places and peoples that would be encountered. The New Zealanders' short stays in ports were brief interruptions in the course of their journey, which was the longest of all the journeys made by the colonial troops. These were the first fleeting encounters that the men had – an opportunity to interact with the global structures and networks of (imperial) maritime travel, which revealed a desire to assert difference rather than to develop an affinity with others in the colonial sphere. The men's initial attempts to determine their status and identity will further be explored in the next chapter as they arrived in camp and were confronted with others within the military sphere. The networks of connection between colonial groups, which Gilroy's work has highlighted, might be better facilitated in the extended contact of camp spaces. What is clear in the narratives of the journey are both the excitement and anxieties that accompanied arrival; this was the beginning of a new and unknown phase and there were attempts to secure and control the men's experience. The journey was an important stage in the colonial troops' war

narrative that needs to be understood as part of the their experience, given how far they travelled to reach the fronts where they served. For some, though, this starting point was a tragic ending. The story of the Mendi illuminates how a wartime journey could reflect the darker essence of the colonial experience, and in turn become enshrined in commemorative practice.

Section Two

Military Men: Encounters during Service

Chapter Three

At Camp: Encounters between Colonial Troops



Sunset over tents at the New Zealand reinforcement camp, Étaples, France.¹

A vast Allied military camp was stationed at Étaples. In the photograph above of a New Zealand Expeditionary Force reinforcement camp there, the immensity of Étaples seems almost limitless, as the camera gazes across row upon row of tents, seemingly unending. As Arthur Logan a New Zealander put it,

The British Camp at Etaples was a huge affair. It was a distributing point for reinforcements to every unit of the British Army, and there were camp areas for every country in the British Empire, including Indians, Canadians, South Africans, Australians, New Zealanders and of course, reinforcements for all the English, Scottish and Irish regiments.²

The description of Étaples as a dense mixing pot of troops from across the Empire gives an impression of the international cultures of the camp. Logan's memoir did not recount the rioting that took place there in 1917 following confrontations between Anzacs and the military police in which a corporal was shot. One thousand men broke out of the camp and

¹ Royal New Zealand Returned and Services' Association: New Zealand official negatives, World War 1914-1918. Ref: 1/2-013018-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

<<http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22722937>> [accessed: 6 May 2016]

² ATL, Micro-MS-0129, Memoir of Arthur Lunen Logan, p. 135.

went to the neighbouring town, reflecting the tensions that could develop in such bases.³

Social tensions and discrimination – particularly the racism already endemic in society at that time – were accentuated by the conditions of camp life.

This chapter examines the military camps – for training, deployment, reinforcement or rest – that the men were stationed in during their service. Where were these camps? The nature of war meant that bases changed in response to where manpower was needed. In Egypt, the New Zealanders were stationed at Zeitoun Camp from December 1914, just outside Cairo, for their initial training prior to and following the Gallipoli campaign before further work in Palestine.⁴ In England, the main New Zealand camps were at Sling Camp in Wiltshire on the Salisbury Plain, with the Maoris stationed a few miles away at Larkhill. Secondary camps were at Brocton, a small village in Stafford, the market town of Grantham in Lincolnshire and Ewshot, a village in Hampshire. On the Western Front, the NZEF – now the New Zealand division – would serve at the Somme, Messines, Broodseinde Ridge in 1916 and 1917 and the Hundred Day's Offensive in 1918. The South African Infantry Brigade's (SAIB) base on their arrival in England in November 1915 was in Hampshire, at Bordon Camp, which still operates as a military camp today, with the South African Ambulance near the town of Fleet and the Artillery in Bexhill, on the East Sussex coast. The SAIB were sent to Egypt in January 1916 where they were stationed at Mex Camp in Alexandria.⁵ The Brigade saw operations at Halzin, west of Alexandria, against the Senussi force at Agagia, east of Sidi Barrani in Egypt in February 1916, and in the coastal village of Sollum, near the Mediterranean Sea.⁶ The Brigade sailed from Alexandria to join the Western Front and arrived in Marseilles in April 1916. The SAIB fought at the Somme in 1916; Arras, Ypres and Menin in 1917; and at Passchendaele, Messines, Mont Kemmel and Cambrai in 1918. The South African Native Labour Corps (SANLC) served only in France and were allocated to camps in Le Havre, Rouen, Dieppe, Rouxmesnil, Saigneville and Dannes. The British West Indian Regiment

³ Watson, *Enduring the Great War*, p. 42.

⁴ Kitchen, p. 155.

⁵ Nasson, *Springboks on the Somme*, p. 126.

⁶ Nasson, *Springboks on the Somme*, p. 126.

(BWIR) base in England was at Seaford, a coastal town in Sussex from January 1916, before service in Egypt and Palestine as combatants and on the Western Front as labourers. The first battalion and part of the second battalion sailed on the *Marathon* from England and arrived in Egypt on 18 March 1916, where they were made part of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force.⁷ The BWIR joined the South Africans at Mex Camp, outside Alexandria. From July 1916, men of the BWIR were transferred to France for work on ammunition carriers, and in August the third and fourth battalions left for France.⁸ Further deployments disembarked in Folkestone, England and went straight to the Western Front.

‘Camp’ was a familiar, well-regulated setting, with military order and khaki uniforms. Though the specific camps served different purposes and were different sizes, with different conditions, the men did not always specify where they were, using the generic ‘somewhere in France’ both to comply with censorship requirements and to cover any uncertainty they themselves had about their location. As a result, ‘camps’ were discursive, used as a narrative trope within the men’s accounts, as well as physical spaces that shaped and limited the activities and encounters that happened in them. The vast geographical span of the war meant that there were distinctive and memorable features in each camp. Cold, wet European winters spent recovering from trench warfare were very different from the hot, dusty conditions of the desert in Palestine.⁹ A BWIR private in the first contingent wrote home from Seaford that if ‘it was not for the rain here the place would be fine, but it rains almost every day and the ground is in a state. Today is bitterly cold, and we had a slight fall of snow’.¹⁰ New Zealand Gunner Alfred Stratton wrote in his diary from Tel-el-Kebir on the edge of the Egyptian desert in 1916 that he ‘slept in tents on bare sand. The flies are terrible. Sand everywhere.’¹¹ As with the letters and diaries written on board the troopship, we find a constant preoccupation with physical conditions. Yet, unlike the troopships, the longer

⁷ Howe, *Race, War and Nationalism*, p. 95.

⁸ Howe, *Race, War and Nationalism*, p. 95.

⁹ Watson, *Enduring the Great War*, p. 20.

¹⁰ *The Daily Gleaner*, 13 January 1916.

¹¹ NAMNZ, Personal Recollections of Alfred Stratton, 3 May 1916.

duration of camp life and the more diverse populations held in them, allowed deeper reflection on the encounters experienced there.

Due to the huge demand for manpower, and the grudging mobilisation of black colonial troops in white Western Europe, British masculinity was not only threatened by its conflict with Germany but by the participation of its own Empire. The military necessity to arm non-white men to fight alongside and against white men undermined the racial ideology of empire at its core.¹² But for the colonies, this was an opportunity for individual nations to prove themselves, either to secure their rank in the imperial order or to compete directly with the British.¹³ The dislocation of men from the colonies during the war disrupted the operation of empire and created new spaces for colonial encounter. Rather than the carefully maintained relationship between centre and periphery, suddenly the periphery encountered other peripheries, and the metropolis became a destination for thousands whose war service caused them to pass through the capital. In the exclusively male spaces of camp, inhabiting and performing strong masculinities was nearly as important as activity on the battlefield. As established in Chapter One, there was a range of cultures and discourses of masculinity pertaining to each of the colonial groups. These were particularly important at camp; their reputations as men and soldiers were all that preceded them – all that would make them less ‘unknown’ to the new groups they met. The white dominion troops benefitted from their whiteness within racial and masculine discourses. For the white South Africans, their combatant masculinity was based not only on their intimidating physical presence but associated values that included their diasporic British identity. This had a particular ‘Scottishness’ that included the incorporation of tartan into their clothing.¹⁴ Alongside this ‘Highland spirit’ was an incorporation of their ‘African fierceness’, which drew not only on their colonial identity but also on an overt channelling of the Zulu warrior tribalism of the region. This was revealed in their imitation and appropriation of Zulu war cries during the

¹² Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 60.

¹³ Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 50; Willan, 65.

¹⁴ Nasson, *Springboks on the Somme*, p. 127.

war, a practice discussed further below. The white New Zealanders, too, had a readiness for physical and outdoor work because of their pioneer identity and ‘muscular heritage’.¹⁵ This was safely contained within respectable boundaries because of their British heritage and the country’s development as a democratic nation.¹⁶ Having demonstrated their superior martial abilities through participation in the Anglo-Boer war, this was a nation prepared for service.

The discourses were, of course, different for the non-white men. West Indians, despite representations of historic good soldiering, were associated with the unreliable and treacherous behaviour of non-white men in colonial historic events like the Indian Mutiny in 1857 and earlier slave rebellions in the West Indies in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹⁷ White military discourses suggested that black men lacked sufficient discipline and rationality to be effective. Though this discourse was designed as a method of colonial control, the West Indian men were popularly believed to be ineffectual soldiers.¹⁸ The black men from South Africa, while associated with the historic martial ferocity of the Zulus, were also perceived to be potentially treacherous and disloyal, with a barbarity that might not be controllable.¹⁹ For both these groups, these widespread preconceptions influenced the limitations placed on their service: the BWIR were not allowed to fight on the Western Front and were involved only in frontline combat in Egypt and Palestine; the SANLC’s restriction to labour was an essential precondition of their service for the South African government.²⁰ It should be recognised, though, that these restrictions pertained both to masculine discourses and to white anxiety about maintaining their superiority in the racial order. While the Maori troops from New Zealand benefitted from their martial reputation and ferocious masculinities in combination with Aryan myths and ‘racial amalgamation’, they, too, were

¹⁵ Phillips, *A Man’s Country?*, p. 15

¹⁶ Phillips, *A Man’s Country?* p. 86.

¹⁷ Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 58.

¹⁸ Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 61.

¹⁹ Nasson, *Springboks on the Somme*, p. 3.

²⁰ Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 79; Grundlingh, *Fighting Their Own War*, p. 42.

predominantly restricted to labour duties on the Western Front, to protect the fighting prowess of white men, even if these white men were the enemy.²¹

Racial discourses about non-white masculinity were revealed, too, in attempts to segregate the non-white troops from white troops and civilian populations, which influenced their experiences of encounters. In line with the terms established by the South African government to preserve their existing colour bar, the SANLC were also subject to segregation in camp to ensure that they could not draw comparisons between their own duties and treatment and that of other battalions.²² Segregation was considered essential to prevent ‘undesirable consequences calculated to flow from their too familiar social intercourse with Europeans of both sexes in a country where colour prejudice is less marked than in South Africa’.²³ When the SANLC were at Rouen, the army removed the Cape Coloured Labour Battalion,

The latter were treated as soldiers, the former were segregated; it would have been impossible to enforce the rules by which the South African natives were restricted to compounds if they had seen the Cape Boys alongside them allowed practically unlimited freedom.²⁴

The complexity of segregation in operation is clear. Bill Nasson has highlighted how segregation was compromised by the British Army’s establishment of a more integrated Labour Directorate at the end of 1916, as well as logistical pressures around where labour was needed and of building compounds.²⁵ Segregation relied upon on perceived racial inferiority; the troops who were segregated were therefore discernibly marked as lower rank. Segregation illustrated, too, the military’s lack of trust in the segregated troops, who needed to be ‘controlled’ by military order. Some of the Maori troops were segregated when they arrived in

²¹ Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 79.

²² Grundligh, *Fighting Their Own War*, p. 37, p. 100.

²³ Grundligh, *Fighting Their Own War*, p. 43.

²⁴ TNA, WO 107/37, A History of Labour Battalions during the First World War, p. 25. The Cape Coloured Labour Battalion were an infantry battalion raised by the Union of South Africa in September 1915 from the ‘coloured’ population of the Cape, who were held to be higher in the racial order. See Ivor D. Difford, *The Story of the 1st Battalion Cape Corps* (Cape Town: Hortors, 1920).

²⁵ Nasson, *Springboks on the Somme*, p. 166.

England in 1916 following the Gallipoli campaign. In an oral history interview, Frederick Tate of the NZEF remembered how the Maoris reacted to being segregated,

The Maoris had been promised that they would be treated as equals with the Europeans, this was promised a number of times. When we got to England, the Maoris were segregated and they were put in their own camp and they were bitter.²⁶

Segregation on the Western Front, like in the SANLC camps, illuminated the desire to protect the 'prestige' of whiteness in contrast to fronts where the civilian populations were non-white or more diversely mixed. However, segregation did not entirely limit the potential for interaction. Ramson wrote about how his BWIR men were kept behind barbed wire at a popular stopover camp in France, almost certainly Étapes.

We saw sometime 12,000 and 14,000 troops there at once. After the meal, they would come over to us and stand on the other side of the barbed wire, and chat to our black boys as brother soldiers in a way that did us good. We met several old Jamaica boys in this way [...] some belonged to other battalions of the BWIR, which had preceded us.²⁷

Ramson did not make clear why his men were behind wire, while those from other battalions of the BWIR were free to roam. Being visited by the other men as 'brother soldiers' helped improve the men's spirits, which had been dampened by their segregation. Curiosity in camp spaces was rife and the possibility of re- acquaintance with old friends revealed how small the world of the mobilised British Empire could be.²⁸

There were other factors beyond race in how encounters took place in the military camps. The shared combatant history of Anzac and South African troops in the Anglo-Boer war helped broker friendships. South African Arthur Betteridge wrote about how his unit arrived in Alexandria and mixed with Australians and New Zealanders: 'they were particularly friendly to us probably because their fathers had served in our country during the Boer war.'²⁹

²⁶ ATL, Oral History Interview with Frederick Tate, Reel 3A.

²⁷ Ramson, pp. 10-11.

²⁸ The 'smallness' of the militarized colonial world recurs throughout the accounts of men from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies as they encountered 'home' people who had enlisted at different times, with different battalions. Randolph Gray described a Tommy Officer who came into their orderly room in France 'and enquired for any old Nelson boys. You people could never guess who it was. It was Martin Strong, and he had come over from China with a Chinese Labour Battalion.' Gray, 8 September 1917.

²⁹ Arthur Betteridge, *Combat In and Over Delville Wood* (Pretoria: E. F. Slatter, (1986 (1973))), p. 14.

A shared history of combat equally led to friendly relations between William St Leger, another South African, and Australians who had served alongside his country men five months earlier in Delville Wood.³⁰ Rank and class also influenced encounters. Officers chaperoned and managed the movements of the men and had infinitely more freedom to roam around. There were distinctions between combatants and non-combatants, too. As Horner described, his BWIR men did not get on with the ordinary native labour corps, particularly the Chinese, because of the West Indian's 'somewhat irritating habit of rubbing in the fact that being soldiers [they] are on an immeasurably higher social scale than a mere labourer who is working for a wage.'³¹ The West Indian's relative freedom to use cafes and *estaminets* that the labourers could not was a further point of friction between the different non-white groups. Army rank had a strong resonance in the militarised spaces of camp where order was key, intersecting with racially distinguished roles.

The concentration of diverse groups of men in a contained space meant the troops encountered new peoples. Anxiety, apprehension and fear were intensified by the prospect of meeting those who were ethnically and nationally 'other', as well as curiosity and a sense of adventure. Though there were many variables at stake in camp spaces – race, nationality, masculinity, class, rank – the deployment of troops from across the empire as an imperial force created a sense of community in these spaces. Emotional community could support endurance during the war, as the men faced the ordeal together during a period of heightened anxiety and fear for everyone. The trauma of injury and the death of comrades had considerable impact on the emotions of the individual soldier, but was also something that was common to them all.³² The men mixing in this space included veterans of the frontline and new recruits yet to be fully inducted and so the military authorities attempted to foster in their men a sense of group solidarity, 'a merging of the individual's identity with that of the

³⁰ St Leger, 12 January 1917.

³¹ Horner, p. 51.

³² Watson, *Enduring the Great War*, p. 22. Michael Roper has described how the troops depended on their fellow soldiers for support in the face of unpredictable violence. Roper, *The Secret Battle*, p. 6.

battalion'.³³ Encounters brokered connections and simultaneously challenged the men's sense of themselves. Understanding their place within the militarised society was therefore important for the colonial troops, including having a defined sense of ethnic, national and masculine identity.

The chapter examines spontaneous encounters in camps from fleeting observations to much more developed relationships. It looks, too, at the structures in place in camps that encouraged sociability and community and the occasions of physical spectacles that took place. Camp could be a friendly place but it could also reveal racist feelings and fuel acts of subjugation or violence. Those in charge of the camps aimed to foster community but provided, too, the opportunity for lines of difference and distinction to be drawn between the colonial groups who congregated within their bounds. Both these urges operated at once, not necessarily exclusively, but in a state of flux. Much as the colonial order of empire relied on discourses that were consistently remade, so were military camps places of dialogue between individuality – of self, race or nation – and communality – of ethnicity or empire. The encounters of the men at camp revealed these processes in action, including how the languages and discourses of martial races were used to assert primacy or denigrate others. Against the backdrop of war, with the intensifying competition of masculinities defined on national or ethnic terms, my analysis explores how the broader colonial discourses about these groups were either adapted within martial frameworks or challenged these frameworks.

War, Masculinity and Martial Races

The global nature of the First World War juxtaposed domestic concerns about Britain's population with the physical condition of the races of empire. Empire had been built and sustained upon the premise of what was promoted as a special brand of British masculinity,

³³ Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996), p. 128.

patriarchal and strong.³⁴ War challenged this notion as white male bodies were placed in competition with those of other nations and indeed of other empires. Did the First World War represent a crisis of (white) masculinity? Certainly it provoked ‘a major crisis in the lives of the great majority of men in Britain.’³⁵ The war mutilated, disabled and dismembered the bodies of the men who served in it, both in the imperial metropole and in the colonies.³⁶ Even before the war in Britain, ‘Edwardian anxieties about the declining birth rate were exacerbated by more generalized fears that the race was somehow physically and mentally deteriorating.’³⁷ The poor health of recruits during the Anglo-Boer War – 40 per cent of recruits were found unfit, the rate of wastage closer to 60 per cent – and the failure to swiftly defeat the Boer forces, suggested to many a decline in British manhood, threatening the future of the imperial order.³⁸ Eugenist committees like the National Council for Public Morals and the Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration took up the issue of low birth rates and national degeneration.³⁹ Concerns with the future of the British race in the early twentieth century were, though, decidedly inward-looking.⁴⁰ Eugenists were predominantly concerned with the lower classes of British society, rather than the peoples of empire, assuming that the future wellbeing of the British Empire was dependent on the quality of the British race, rather than only the size of the colonial population.⁴¹ The quality of the British race was assessed by the activities of the First World War, witnessed by the colonial troops who were, regardless of race, intended to be inferior.

³⁴ The work of Ann Laura Stoler, Anne McClintock and Mrinalini Sinha has illuminated what Ania Loomba has called the ‘patriarchal racism of colonial rule’ in *Gender, Race and Renaissance Drama* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992); Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context* (London: Routledge, 1995); Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The ‘manly Englishman’ and the ‘effeminate Bengali’ in the late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

³⁵ Bourke, p. 13.

³⁶ Bourke, p. 15.

³⁷ Richard A. Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration: Eugenics and the Declining Birthrate in Twentieth Century Britain* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990), p. 38.

³⁸ Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 15.

³⁹ Bourke, p. 14.

⁴⁰ Soloway, p. 61.

⁴¹ Soloway, p. 61.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, theories of martial races had emerged that promoted the superior combat ability of particular groups within the British Empire, which developed in both the metropolis and the colonies. Perceived biological or cultural predisposition ‘to the arts of war’ was flexibly applied: the strategy of imperial rule gave rise to complex, inconsistent, unstable and frequently contradictory uses of scientific and cultural understandings of race and the racial order.⁴² Despite their changeable usage, the language of biological conceptions of race, as developed in the human sciences during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, were harnessed to exert power – new language was used to express ‘old prejudices’.⁴³ Of particular favour, as the British Empire’s most manly and fierce soldiers, were the Scottish Highlanders, Punjabi Sikhs and Nepalese Gurkhas. The ‘savage representations of masculinity’ at the heart of martial race ideology privileged the perceived ‘barbarism’ of some non-white men, where that of others rendered them unfit for martial activity. In the case of the Scottish Highlanders, there was a particular ferocity associated with their ‘race’: this was not solely reliant on biological understandings but drew on previous understandings of ‘race’ as culture. Given that the Highlanders in the late nineteenth century included both Lowland men and small numbers of English and Irish men, the Highlanders martial prowess came to be understood as shorthand for the racial capabilities of all British men.⁴⁴ There was special status also accorded to the South Africans who claimed Scottish heritage within their combat culture. As Streets has convincingly argued, the martial race soldiers were not just ‘raced’ but ‘gendered’ as ideally masculine; alongside their ‘racial hardiness’ were notions of loyalty, honour and devotion.⁴⁵ These tropes were used to enforce the commitment of the martial races and to maintain the bonds of empire. This depiction of the ideal ‘imperial’ soldier was the standard against which other groups would be held during the First World War. The need for manpower to support the war effort meant that colonial groups beyond the martial races were mobilised, though it was no surprise that Indian men,

⁴² Streets, p. 1.

⁴³ Nancy Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800-1960* (The Macmillan Press Ltd: London and Basingstoke, 1982), p. 4, p. 83.

⁴⁴ Streets, p. 9.

⁴⁵ Streets, p. 11.

endowed with perceived superiority when it was useful to British control, were quickly mobilised. The British Indian Army, including the 'martial' Punjabi Sikhs and Gurkhas from Nepal, were among the first non-white forces from the British Empire to begin travelling to the Western Front as early as September 1914.⁴⁶

While the British officials had not intended to create the opportunity for colonial groups to gain politically and culturally from their participation in the First World War, this inadvertent consequence was well anticipated by political groups. Service in the war could prove as yet untested masculinities in line with martial races discourses as well as create connections between other colonial groups and the existing martial races. In the West Indies, as one example, William Galwey Donovan, the black political activist and editor of the *Federalist and Grenada People*, wrote an article that asserted the combatant abilities of black men and argued that any restriction of their service was due only to colour prejudice:

The old West India regiment may be doing garrison duty, true; but what about the Zulus who once annihilated a British force and 'Fuzzy Wuzzy' who broke a British square? [...] The Senegalese, West Coast blacks, are fighting side by side with their white French comrades, covering themselves with glory and winning imperishable renown for the name and honour of France. Why has not England utilised in the same manner the services of her black warriors? Because of the nasty cowardly skin prejudice characteristic of the Empire. This war however will end that.⁴⁷

Donovan's emphasis on black warriors drew on historic episodes of black men's triumph in battle to counter British refusals to mobilise all its colonial troops in combat. His hope was that the war would destroy the ignorance of the imperial authorities and reposition the status of black people in particular, revealing the broader significance of encounters, as well as the depths of martial ideologies in contemporary rhetoric. The re-ordering of empire he envisioned, while drawing on martial language, did pose a challenge to imperial structures, if not its destruction, by emphasising the equality of non-white men.

⁴⁶ Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 47.

⁴⁷ Edward L. Cox describes Donovan as 'brown-skinned': he reportedly had a white father. Edward L. Cox 'William Galwey Donovan and the Struggle for Political Change in Grenada, 1883-1920', *Small Axe*, 22, 11 (2007), 20. 'The West Indies and the War', *The Federalist and Grenada People*, 19 June 1915.

Reports about the service of the non-white Maori, West Indians and South Africans demonstrate how martial races discourse could both be confirmed and challenged during the war. Descriptions of Maori service, in the First Maori Contingent and the Pioneer Battalion, attempted to promote the Maori as a martial race by emphasising their ethnicity and their heritage and their integration with white New Zealanders.⁴⁸ Discourse about their ferocity and physicality were a strength here, as was the 'Britishness' bestowed upon them through amalgamation and in the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi. In his history of the Maoris in the First World War, James Cowan wrote:

Not merely were the native New Zealanders superior to all the coloured troops – a distinguished General said that the famous Ghurkhas were but children as compared with the Maoris – but they proved superior to many of the white troops in directions, which suited the genius of the race.⁴⁹

Cowan's words sealed the notion that the Maoris belonged to a collective New Zealander identity and, further, that there was a specific 'genius of the race' that put renowned non-white fighters to shame and challenged white men's martial ability too. Maoris had supposedly established their equality in New Zealand society but their racial identity was now used to assert a heightened superiority over other British colonial groups.⁵⁰ In a letter from Captain Twistleton to Captain D'Esterre, both serving with the Maori Contingents, Twistleton wrote, '[the Maoris] as soldiers, officers and men are a credit to their race and their country, and I for one hope to see a strong unit kept at fighting strength till the end of the job.'⁵¹ Maori service at Gallipoli as combatants rather than non-combatants was particularly significant. As the campaign upon which the myths of New Zealand being 'born' as a nation were founded, the significance of their inclusion was immediately recognised. Maori leader Te Rangi Hiroa/Peter Buck described in his diary that the 'fatigue, danger, and incessant vigil of the trenches' brokered equality between the Maori and their Pakeha counterparts.⁵² War was a competition of masculinity and the white New Zealanders happily integrated the proven

⁴⁸ Winegard, p. 39; Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 167-68.

⁴⁹ Cowan, p. 2

⁵⁰ Bennett, 'Maori as honorary members', 37.

⁵¹ Archives New Zealand (ANZ), 9/32/1 Expeditionary Force - Maori Contingents NZEF, 15 December 1915.

⁵² Peter Buck's war diary, quoted in Cowan, *The Maoris in the Great War*, p. 69.

strength of the Maori into New Zealand's national identity. This even included making physical comparisons. Writing from Gallipoli, one anonymous soldier wrote in a letter that 'we are absolutely as brown as Maoris, to look at us back on you would say we were Maoris.'⁵³ Looking like Maoris was partly related to race, being 'brown', but was also a signifier of physical strength. The Pioneer Battalion's work was equally admired. Major Alexander of the NZEF noted when praising Maori fatigue parties that, 'they were very popular – most of them speaking excellent English – and they have pleasant manners with none of the servility of the Indian about them.'⁵⁴ White New Zealanders claimed Maori success as part of a collective national culture. Alfred Stratton, a gunner with the NZEF, wrote in his 'personal recollections' of the war, 'as I watched those Maoris at work, disdainful of danger, there came a feeling of pride to be a New Zealander with the Maoris.'⁵⁵

The service of the BWIR was constructed differently in the histories written after the war. When the BWIR was formed in 1916, the men were given soldier status, rather than being included as a division of the native labour corps. Their combat duties were restricted, though, to Egypt between 1916 and 1917 and Palestine from 1917 to 1918.⁵⁶ Occasions of combatant service were heavily emphasised in histories of the regiment to ensure that their fighting was remembered. James Campbell has suggested that both the war poets and their critics, particularly Paul Fussell, have created an ideology of what he terms 'combat gnosticism': that the exclusive experience of fighting in war made it only understandable and communicable to those who had taken part.⁵⁷ War, in the critical tradition, has been therefore firmly identified with combat. In a similar way, contemporary reflections on the service of non-white colonial troops emphasised both the combatant nature of their service where possible and attempted to shift the definition of what was considered 'war'. By promoting West Indian combat in

⁵³ NAMNZ, 1999-1086, Anonymous, 19 July 1915.

⁵⁴ H. M. Alexander, *On Two Fronts, Being the adventures of the Indian Mule Corps in France and Gallipoli* (London: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1917), pp. 216-17.

⁵⁵ NAMNZ, Personal Reflections of Alfred Stratton, n. p.

⁵⁶ Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 79.

⁵⁷ James Campbell, 'Combat Gnosticism: The Ideology of First World War Literary Criticism', *New Literary History*, 30, 1 (1999).

Egypt and Palestine, the black men became part of this soldierly understanding, rather than excluded as mere labourers. Emphasising these examples ensured that the West Indians who had been named as soldiers would be remembered as soldiers. Lieutenant Colonel Wood-Hill, who commanded the first battalion of the BWIR in Egypt and Palestine, quoted letters he received praising his men, including one from E. W. C. Chaytor who wrote about ‘the very good work’ done by the first battalion in the Jordan Valley.

Outside my own division, there are no troops I would sooner have with me than the B.W.I.R. who have won the highest opinions of all who have been with them during our operations here.⁵⁸

Frank Cundall, historian of Jamaica’s involvement in the First World War, included the work of the BWIR gunners in Egypt and Palestine, recalling their ‘keen interest in their work, cheerfulness, coolness under fire, and an intelligent appreciation of what was required of them and the necessary ability to carry it out under difficulties’.⁵⁹ Cundall further quoted an artillery major, who was watching the Jordan Valley campaign in 1918:

“My God! Are they angels or are they d- fools? Don’t they see shells, don’t they hear shells, don’t they know what shells are?” He was amazed to see men going steadily forward under a terrific hail of shrapnel and high explosive with no more concern than if it were a shower of rain.⁶⁰

Where the Maori troops were compared to other martial races, the West Indian men stood alone, withstanding heavy shelling in feats of endurance, cool-headedness and intelligence. These descriptions echoed the languages of martial races, where tropes such as charging ‘through heavy fire’ or ‘without check or hesitation’ were used to highlight the aggressively masculine prowess of the martially able men.⁶¹ West Indian aggression was suggested by their blackness but emerged here as appropriately channelled through their role as soldiers. Though Wood-Hill remarked that the West Indian men ‘may be a little bit harder to instil discipline into’, the men ‘possess “guts” without which no man can be turned unto a soldier’.⁶² These accounts demonstrated that the West Indian men were fully equipped to be

⁵⁸ C. Wood-Hill, *A Few Notes on the History of the British West Indies Regiment*, (n.p: n.p, n.d), p. 6.

⁵⁹ Frank Cundall, *Jamaica’s Part in the Great War, 1914-1918* (London: Published for the Institute of Jamaica by the West India Company, 1925), p. 39.

⁶⁰ Cundall, p. 56.

⁶¹ Streets, p. 12.

⁶² Wood-Hill, p. 6.

excellent soldiers – concerns about the discipline of black men were acknowledged but qualified by examples of their obedience.⁶³ The admiration of West Indian behaviour by white officers was central to securing recognition of black equality. The historians of the West Indian troops aimed to present impartial accounts of the men's martial abilities. Rather than using the accounts of those driven by national political aims, the historians used the reflections of those within the same British military structures that had sought to limit West Indian service.

Accounts of West Indian service on the Western Front from 1916 to the end of the war could not report on frontline combat, for there the men were non-combatants. The padres, Alfred Horner and John Ramson, who served with the BWIR in France acted as witnesses for the men's non-combatant service. As such, the padres emphasised the dangers of their labour duties and the retention of soldier status that was so important to the BWIR, in order to distinguish them from the native labour corps. As the BWIR's duties shifted, so too did conceptions of what war entailed. Horner commented, 'do not think, though, for a single second that we had become mere labourers and had lost either our military style or our military bearing.'⁶⁴ The padres' writing acted to buttress the masculinity of the BWIR men, which was in peril by the change in occupation, if not status. Ramson reminded his readers that 'all positions were perilous, owing to the fact that the Germans of course shelled the dumps and the trains continually.'⁶⁵ He detailed the hard work the men did 'to unload truck after truck of heavy boxes, or heavier shells, sort them out and stack them in heaps on the ramp for re-loading in the narrow gauge railways'.⁶⁶ There was another form of 'Gnosticism' at play as this witness positioned labouring duties as an experience that aligned with the dangers of combat sufficiently to include these men in the recognised war effort. Horner's account of West Indian stretcher bearing again validated the work the men did in France.

⁶³ Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 59.

⁶⁴ Horner, p. 39.

⁶⁵ Ramson, p. 33.

⁶⁶ Ramson, p. 32.

Working all the time with a most exemplary cheerfulness, conscious that they were at any rate doing valuable, necessary, dangerous work, and – who knows? – probably forging another link in that brotherhood of empire, for possibly some lad from a far distant clime, of another race, may remember with sympathy and affection the day when our West Indian coloured lads carried him out of danger to life and to health.⁶⁷

By promoting forms of quasi-soldiering ability that placed the West Indians as heroic – saving British men, forging links in the British Empire and guaranteeing the success of the war effort through their labour – Horner and Ramson extolled the value of this non-combatant service, using the language and imagery of martial races, to depict the BWIR as loyal and devoted servicemen.

The designation of the black men from South Africa as a labour corps made it less easy to construct a narrative of masculinity under fire. The men were unarmed and as such extremely vulnerable. Jacob Koos Matli remembered from his time at Griffiths Camp in France that ‘nearly every evening we were attacked by enemy planes and we had nothing to defend ourselves with. Only the Whites were given arms.’⁶⁸ Instead, reports focused on their obedience or good nature at work, which countered discourses of their apparent lack of loyalty and confirmed the need for white ‘masters’ to get the best from black men. Field Marshal Douglas Haig, commander with the British Expeditionary Force, found time to telegraph the South African Prime Minister Louis Botha in January 1917 about the arrival of the SANLC and his words were positive:

Glad to be able to inform you that South African Native Labour Corps promises to be a great success. Health of first draft both on voyage and since arrival excellent. Sick rate only 1 1/2 %. Conduct good and work performed gives satisfaction. Colonel Leary reports men very contented and take pride in co-operating with British Armies in Allied cause. Second draft also arrived, health good and men settling down to work.⁶⁹

Haig’s brief and contained response, written during the war, rather than retrospectively reflecting to contribute to a history, revealed the good performance of the SANLC. This did not, though, illuminate any particular bravery performed or danger endured, as the men

⁶⁷ Horner, p. 36.

⁶⁸ Jeffreys, 187.

⁶⁹ IWM, Documents 7270, Diary of Colonel P. G. Stock, Telegraph from Douglas Haig to General Botha, 4 January 1917.

simply got on with their work, in co-operation with the other British forces, unlike descriptions of the Maori and West Indian troops.

Martial races discourses played a role, too, in demonstrations of discipline, strength and masculinity, away from the frontline, to those in camp who would not witness these men's service. How the troops looked was a recognised way of demonstrating their physicality and their observation of military rigours.⁷⁰ The uniforms worn were particularly important, signifiers of rank and regiment and the military status of the men, able to enhance their 'masculine appearance'. Alexander Briscoe Moore described two West Indian men in Egypt as 'well turned out, with shining buttons, evidently fully alive to their dignity as soldiers of the Empire to which they are proud to belong.'⁷¹ The proud display of well turned out uniforms showed the loyalty and commitment of these BWIR men. Journalist Percival Phillips noted how the SANLC adapted their uniform, blue rather than khaki, to enhance their image, notwithstanding their non-combatant status.

They are very proud of their blue uniforms, puttees, and blue cloaks, and their wide-brimmed felt hats are variously and weirdly ornamented in order to add to their martial appearance.⁷²

John Moloney, a New Zealander, admired how the Indian troops uniforms flattered their physique. 'The sepoy soldiers were fine looking fellows, they wore a white tunic, short pants and a snow white turban, puttees and black military boots.'⁷³ Emphasising the exotic nature of the Indian uniforms, distinct from the regular khaki, served to highlight the men's physical condition: the power of uniform came from how well it was fitted and worn. Horner thought that the attire of his BWIR men did not do them justice:

I have often wished that our men could have worn something different from the ordinary khaki fighting kit of the British soldier - it does hide there splendid physical proportions so. I remember once whilst we were in France we held a boxing competition, and several men who were new to the West

⁷⁰ Bourke, p. 128.

⁷¹ Alexander Briscoe Moore, *The Mounted Riflemen in Sinai and Palestine: The Story of New Zealand's Crusaders* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1925), p. 140.

⁷² TNA, WO 107/37, A History of Labour Battalions during the First World War, extract from Percival Phillips, Special Correspondent with the British Armies in the field, *Daily Express*, p. 119.

⁷³ ATL, MS-Papers-1194, War Diary of John Moloney, 4 October 1915.

Indian boy were absolutely astounded at the fine figures and splendid outlines of our men.⁷⁴

Restricted to labour duties in France, Horner's emphasis on the 'fine figures' of the West Indian men placed them in closer alignment to the fighting forces. His language was similar to descriptions of Australian soldiers – South African William St Leger described one Australian as 'absolutely like a young god. He had a magnificent physique, an absolutely nobly beautiful face'.⁷⁵ Much like the narratives of brave service and loyalty, assertions about physical appearance and strength challenged preconceptions, particularly about the non-white men. In the context of physical trauma, these observations of prime masculinity revealed, too, the desire to see the wholeness of the male body, vital, vibrant and alive.⁷⁶

The observations of physicality have an undercurrent of unacknowledged homoeroticism that included both white and non-white bodies. As Santanu Das has argued, 'discussions of wartime homoeroticism must take into consideration such "very, very strong romantic links", as articulated in Robert Graves's play *But It Still Goes On*.⁷⁷ "Do you know how a platoon of men will absolutely worship a good-looking gallant officer? Of course, they don't realise exactly what's happening, neither does he, but it's a very, very strong romantic link."⁷⁸ The examples reveal admiration of soldiers of all ranks, not essentially in an enduring romantic link, but a brief appreciation in which the erotic and aesthetic became intertwined. The soldiers' bodies were not desired solely as examples of prime masculinity, but as inspiration for erotic and romantic sensations, left unacknowledged. As illuminated by Smith in his discussion of Horner's 'eroticised imaginings' of the BWIR men and 'their splendid physical proportions', this white man's representations could maintain the over-sexualised images of black men that asserted white civilisations' primacy, rather than promote black superiority.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Horner, p. 8.

⁷⁵ St Leger, 13 November 1917.

⁷⁶ Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 103.

⁷⁷ Santanu Das, "'Kiss Me, Hardy": Intimacy, Gender and Gesture in First World War Trench Literature', *Modernism/modernity*, 9, 1 (2002), 54. See also Martin Taylor, *Lads: Love Poetry of the Trenches* (London: Constable, 1989).

⁷⁸ Robert Graves, *But It Still Goes On* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1930), p. 26.

⁷⁹ Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 101.

While Horner's representation seems the result of internalised colonial discourse, it is essential to acknowledge the complications of homoerotic desire for black bodies to understand the emotional responses to beautiful, muscular men.

Encounters at Camp

Time in camp created the opportunity for the men to explore and interact with the other colonial groups there present, which could be observational as those already described, or more sustained.⁸⁰ During their deployment at Gallipoli in 1916, New Zealander Raymond Baker and his 'mate' decided to visit a Ghurka encampment, to look around and 'explore' for something to do. They were ushered into one of the tents by 'a little Johnnie'.

My mate and I didn't know exactly what to expect; but a "Come in please, pray be seated" in perfect English soon put us right. Inside were two big bushy whiskered Indians of evidently high rank. We were a bit overcome in the presence of such mighty ones but the chief soon made us feel at home. He squatted on the floor in the native style and spoke English without the faintest trace of accent: his companion was not quite as good. They were very anxious to know all about us and wanted to know all the news that could be got. Once or twice the principal one said "I am afraid I do not make myself quite clear". "Oh that's alright, you speak English very well sir". "Oh well", most apologetically, "you see I have been to an English University." We put in about half an hour most enjoyably and then walked on.⁸¹

Bakers' represented emotional journey during his encounter moved between the anxiety and anticipation of the unknown, associating the Ghurkhas with being 'exotic', 'different' or 'uncivilised', to the reassurance of familiar signifiers, in this case through the Ghurkha's 'perfect' English, and the pleasure of sharing experience.⁸² The temporary nature of the interaction – half an hour spent 'most enjoyably' before the New Zealanders moved on – is encapsulated in the text. Though the camps were temporary sites, in certain locations a stronger sense of permanency encouraged interactions between the different groups. Horner recorded how the BWIR men befriended the British Tommies they were stationed with in France, beginning with a conversation at work followed by a visit to the regimental canteen 'where experiences are exchanged and opinions expressed':

⁸⁰ Watson, *Enduring the Great War*, p. 42.

⁸¹ Danvers Baker, *Memoir*, p. 55.

⁸² Sara Ahmed, 'Affective Economies', *Social Text*, 22 (2004), 127.

The moment the dark face peers around the door or curtain, as the case may be, the owner is vociferously welcomed and immediately becomes somewhat of a social lion.⁸³

Though the black West Indian men seemed to have had some ‘novelty’, which contributed to their generous reception, the development of friendship between the West Indian men and the British men was contingent on working and living together, from the initial conversation to break up the working day. This opportunity was taken up, too, by Stimela Jason Jingoos, during his breaks at work on the docks near Dieppe to develop a relationship with William Johnstone, from Folkestone in England,

We hit it off at once and spent our breaks drinking tea and talking about our two countries, until at last we were close friends. After the war we corresponded for many years, but at last we lost touch and I do not know what became of him.⁸⁴

The extended period of time that the men shared in camp, both at work and at leisure, allowed this development of friendship. Shared language fostered the ability to share experience, an advantage held by Jingoos over other men in the SANLC.⁸⁵ The closeness that developed between these two labourers, a white English man and a black man from South Africa, was testimony to the flexible bounds of military administration and the genuine warmth that could develop within these cross cultural encounters.

The human connection embodied in these encounters was most intimately revealed in Australian William Barry’s sensuous diary entry describing swimming with Jamaican men in the Suez Canal in Egypt, which I return to here. Barry explicitly confronted race and racialised difference in encounter in physical form: the colour of the men’s skin.

One day when having a swim, two companies of troops from Jamaica came down and it looked funny to see these fine bodied coloured men, for they were as black as coal, in the water with us chaps, and it wasn’t very long before we were the best of friends. Other days we would have a picnic as they called it. We would go over to one of the sweet water canals and lay under the shade of

⁸³ Horner, p. 48.

⁸⁴ *A Chief is a Chief*, p. 93.

⁸⁵ Jingoos described initial problems when the interpreter appointed to his contingent to translate for the white commissioned officers was a Mochuana who the Zulu and Xhosa could not understand, *A Chief is a Chief*, p. 77.

the trees, telling yarns or playing card till evening time and then we would come back to camp.⁸⁶

Barry's diary revealed the initial shock of, and undertones of homoerotic appreciation for, these black men in the water with the white Australians and how swiftly the Jamaican men's blackness, became, seemingly, irrelevant. Whether this was universal to all the Australian men in this situation or whether the unusual blackness of the West Indian men provoked the interest from Barry and his comrades in these new men remains unclear. Friendship developed from this moment of intimacy: the men were able to understand each other from their confrontation with their naked physicality, vulnerable but playful in the water together. Where army movements determined when this friendship would end, the intensity of this evocative moment, tactile, affective and aesthetic, in its romantic and nostalgic representation and imagination of racial mixing, was made permanent in the physical act of writing.

The spontaneous encounters between the men, acting on the curiosity inspired by observing the interesting 'other' groups, were further facilitated by structures of sociability within camps, designed to promote bonding between the men and occupy them during periods of rest or waiting. The Army established facilities at Divisional level, including canteens, both 'wet' – selling alcohol – and dry, which sold tobacco, beer, food, books and newspapers, and space to write letters, listen to music and host entertainments.⁸⁷ As well as a means of 'eking out' soldiers' pay, these provisions could better manage the men's leisure habits, particularly the consumption of alcohol, selling beer only, rather than hard spirits.⁸⁸ They were also profitable: the Army Canteen Committee took over the running of all canteens in the UK and it was estimated that they collectively had sales of between £80 and £100 million a year.⁸⁹ Provisions by the YMCA, who had 10,000 sites worldwide by the end of the war, 300 of

⁸⁶ Barry, p. 27.

⁸⁷ Emma Hanna, 'Putting the moral into morale: YMCA cinemas on the Western Front, 1914-1918', *Historic Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 35, 4 (2015), 617.

⁸⁸ Tim Cook, 'Wet Canteens and Worrying Mothers: Alcohol, Soldiers and Temperance Groups in the Great War', *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, 35, 70 (2002), 319.

⁸⁹ Cook, 326.

which were in France to support the troops, accompanied these canteens.⁹⁰ The YMCA spent an estimated £18 million on ‘free stationery, games, sports, concerts, educational work and lectures, hospitality to relatives of the wounded, and gifts to the wounded.’⁹¹ This provision was particularly important for those groups confined to camp spaces: the YMCA’s internationalist nature and establishment as a worldwide organisation included the employment of indigenous personnel who were stationed alongside some of the native labour corps.⁹²

These facilities were designed for communal entertainment and bonding, as well as to boost morale, and so were an important part of military culture. Rikihana Carkeek reflected on how enjoyable these evenings could be during his time in Gallipoli in 1915,

I spent this evening in the canteen having a glorious time with W. Hapeta, R. Simeon, R. Ransfield, Maurice Broughton (Bluebird) and a Tommy soldier. Bluebird got very lively, starting to sing and being a general nuisance.⁹³

The canteen offered a safe haven from the battlefield where the men could relax and enjoy each other’s company, with those they served with and others in the camp. Canteens and YMCA huts were also a place for cultural exchange, where home cultures were replicated, hosting services or concerts, in much the same way as the songs on the ship detailed in Chapter Two were a direct link with home. New Zealander Edward Ryburn reported hearing Maoris singing their Sunday service in their native tongue. ‘Quiet. Beautiful. Their chaplain has a grand rich voice and leads them.’⁹⁴ Horner proudly declared that, ‘in order to keep up the idea of West Indian music for West Indian troops a good many of our tunes in the 9th BWI were homemade and designated either by places at home or places we had visited in France.’⁹⁵ The colonial troops’ ability to surround themselves with familiar ‘home’ music was

⁹⁰ Hanna, 616.

⁹¹ Hanna, 616.

⁹² Peter Chen-main Wang, ‘Caring beyond National Borders: The YMCA and Chinese Labourers in World War I Europe’, *Church History*, 78, 2 (2009), 328. Percival Phillips had written too about the SANLC being given access to a variety of amusements, including football. WO 107/37, Extract from *Daily Express*, p. 119.

⁹³ Carkeek, 15 April 1915.

⁹⁴ Ryburn, 5 September 1915.

⁹⁵ Horner, pp. 45-6.

an important function of these facilities and, of course, these calypso tunes or Maori hymns would introduce new rhythms, beats and melodies to the soundscape of the Western Front. Lieutenant Colonel Alexander MacGregor, a British officer serving with Indian troops, wrote a letter about a night of music at Fort Tanskyne where one of the men brought down the house 'by getting up and singing in a regular shrill native chant "Tipperary" in Hindustani. But I am afraid "Bwa-kutchra Tipperary ko-hai" will not catch on at home as much as one might wish.'⁹⁶ Similarly, an article in *The Times* in 1917, 'Tipperary in New Guise', described a Maori version of 'It's a Long Way to Tipperary', a representation of the diversity of ethnicities and nationalities represented in the Allied forces along the Western Front. While both occasions were presented as moments of novelty, humour and intrigue these brief accounts revealed the exchange of language and music made possible through the encounters of war, including in the social spaces of camp.

The designation of canteens by division meant that more formalised social interactions operated, 'by invitation' in camp. Horner's discussion of men from the BWIR mixing with British Tommies in France in 1916 showed how the dynamics of visiting and hosting could empower the men.

Visits to the BWI canteen, where our boys play the part of hosts, are also made, and I must say that our boys are in no wise behindhand in providing hospitality. There is a great feeling of 'share and share alike' at the front, which our lads have fallen into.⁹⁷

The opportunity to share supplies and play host fostered community between the men and allowed the black West Indians to act in a welcoming, benevolent way, subverting practised colonial dynamics. Horner described, too, how often the West Indian men entertained the British soldiers: 'as purveyors of sweet music, our boys bring to the British Tommies' canteen an element both new and worthy of appreciation.'⁹⁸ While Horner's representation intended to reveal the ways in which the West Indians and British men had bonded, the positioning of the West Indian men as 'society entertainer' somewhat challenged their equal engagement

⁹⁶ IWM, Documents 13421, Letters of Lieutenant Colonel A. MacGregor, 27 January 1915.

⁹⁷ Horner, p. 49.

⁹⁸ Horner, p. 49.

with the white Tommies. Given the novelty of black culture as a source of entertainment in Britain in this period, the West Indian men might have been perceived on similar terms by the Tommies, though the military setting, where they were not being paid and where both group were trying to forget the war in their leisure time made this less unequal.⁹⁹ These social facilities could employ firm boundaries, beyond divisional allocation or separation between ranks. As has been demonstrated, the fear and anxiety felt in military camps was driven not only by the proximity to shelling, frontline labour or combat, but also by the ‘unknown’ groups who gathered there. The pre-established systems of institutional and rhetorical racism enacted racial prejudice and discrimination between the different groups, beyond segregation. Horner described a YMCA hut in their camp in France that was closed to the BWIR men in what he called ‘a misunderstanding’. In response, ‘not a solitary white NCO would enter there, and even the blandishments of a concert were unable to charm them if “the boys” as they called them, were not allowed to go.’¹⁰⁰ The anecdote was employed as proof of the true friendships that developed through West Indian and British encounters, sufficient to rouse solidarity in the face of racial discrimination against the black men, a reminder that prejudice on personal and institutional levels remained in operation.

While the discussion thus far has demonstrated the colonial and racial frameworks in which encounters at camp took place, the enchantment with which the interactions were represented obscures the ugliness of many others. Stimela Jason Jingoos of the SANLC described that when the men joined up ‘we had no idea that we would be so ill-treated in Europe by our own side.’¹⁰¹ This was a result of camp conditions; there was constant tension in SANLC compounds, despite the ‘amusements’ offered, because of the restrictions on the men. White officers also bullied the SANLC; film footage of the SANLC demonstrates the

⁹⁹ Thomas L. Riis, ‘The Experience and Impact of Black Entertainers in England, 1895-1920’, *American Music*, 4, 1, *British-American Musical Interactions* (1986), 54.

¹⁰⁰ Horner, p. 61.

¹⁰¹ *A Chief is a Chief*, p. 83.

disdain with which the officers viewed the men.¹⁰² Jingoism recorded an SANLC meeting where they attempted to explain their grievances in front of their white officers, which saw Jingoism brought to a hearing under martial law. A sympathetic captain saved him.¹⁰³ Lieutenant Colonel Wood-Hill, who served with the BWIR, wrote that ‘in every theatre of war where West Indians were employed, they were to a great extent the victims of colour prejudice.’¹⁰⁴ Alongside the ‘misunderstanding’ that Horner described were incidents of explicit racism, as the men were prevented entry to facilities, as well as discrimination in pay and conditions.¹⁰⁵ In Alexandria in 1916, arriving from a 35 day journey, members of the BWIR marched tired and hungry to a hut reserved for British soldiers, singing ‘Rule Britannia’: “Who gave you niggers authority to sing that?” the white soldiers scornfully demanded. “Clear out of this building – only British troops admitted here.”¹⁰⁶ W. F. Elkins, writing in 1970, described the BWIR men as being treated ‘neither as Christians nor British Citizens, but as West Indian “Niggers”’.¹⁰⁷ The Maori, too, were subject to racist treatment. General Alexander Godley, Commander of the NZEF and the Anzac Corps, had written to James Allen, New Zealand’s Minister of Defence, in January 1915 with his concerns about sending the Maori contingent to Egypt. There they might be racially abused by those ‘who do not, and cannot realise that in New Zealand the coloured race is treated on exactly the same footing as the white’.¹⁰⁸ In France, too, there were certain restrictions placed on the Maori and on one occasion a hall was cleared of young women ‘because of the ferocity of these New Zealand “dances”’, seen to be a threat.¹⁰⁹ The haka’s reception will be explored further below.

¹⁰² IWM, Film 413, S. African Native Labour Contingent: Somewhere in France <<http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/1060022872>> [accessed: 11 August 2016].

¹⁰³ *A Chief is a Chief*, p. 83.

¹⁰⁴ Cundall, p. 10

¹⁰⁵ Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 122.

¹⁰⁶ Winston James, ‘The Black Experience in Twentieth Century Britain’, in *Black Experience and the Empire*, ed. by P. D. Morgan and S. Hawkins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 354.

¹⁰⁷ Elkins, 100

¹⁰⁸ Winegard, p. 87

¹⁰⁹ Winegard, p. 112.

The racial discrimination suffered by the non-white men operated on multiple levels, asserting hierarchies within the racial order. White men were also subject to critique during the First World War. This was in no way comparable to the racism experienced by the non-white troops but further reveals how expectations of white/non-white racial binaries were upset by colonial encounters. These criticisms could come from non-white men – Harry B. Dansey, a Maori Captain, wrote home from Gallipoli that ‘the difference between a New Zealander and an Australian is never so marked as it is here’, asserting the primacy of his nation against one of their perceived competitors in the hierarchy of the British Empire.¹¹⁰ The comparisons distinguished between forms of whiteness, as well as national identities – New Zealander William King wrote from Egypt that, ‘we haven’t seen the Jews yet, I don’t know what sort of soldiers they will make’.¹¹¹ While the Jewish men were also white and European, they remained ethnically ‘other’. James Williamson, a New Zealand engineer, was particularly disparaging of Portuguese troops at Étapes, in contrast to South African William St Leger, who had deemed them ‘all right’.¹¹²

We always called them Pork and Beans. They were the worst type of manhood I had ever seen, even the Bantams had it on them [...] They were mostly diseased and any French girl seen talking to them was immediately taken away to be examined by a medical officer.¹¹³

Williamson called into question the ‘manhood’ of these men: their height, weight, looks and health. He was clear that these men were in no way fit for service, that even the shortest ‘Bantam’ members of the British Army, between five foot one and five foot four, were of better physical standing than them. They were also ‘diseased’, presumably with VD, which was a comment on their moral standing: infected, contagious and contaminated, due to ‘immoral’ sexual activity, employing Victorian discourses of purity. The French girls, too, were criticised by their association with these troops of low physical and moral standing.

¹¹⁰ AWMM, MS 873, Dansey Papers, Letter from Harry B. Dansey.

¹¹¹ IWM, Documents 8129, Diary of William King, 8 September 1918.

¹¹² St Leger, 19 August 1917.

¹¹³ Williamson, p. 40.

Criticism of the British Army was common among the representations of the soldiers from New Zealand and Australia, particularly during the defeat at Gallipoli, to ‘concomitantly strengthen the aspirant national identities of subject nations, black or white’.¹¹⁴ The renowned New Zealand Officer, William George Malone, who was killed at Gallipoli, was succinct: ‘one thing our men on the whole look like gentlemen and the Tommies don’t’.¹¹⁵ Writing from Sling Camp in 1918, his compatriot William Malcolm stated, ‘a Tommy is a poor class of man compared with any Colonial. They are absolute weeds, while the boys of eighteen in training could not carry a pack’.¹¹⁶ Edward Ryburn acknowledged how little respect the New Zealanders had for the Tommies:

Now the King’s Artillery is looked on almost with contempt by our men. They simply won’t have anything to do with them. They will fraternise with the Maoris who have done good work and with the Indians, especially the Ghurkhas but the King’s Artillery – no. They are a dirty, mean, crawling, quarrelsome, sneaking lot for the most part.¹¹⁷

Ryburn realised that his disdain for the Tommies was ‘absolute heresy’ and curtailed his letter but his colourful language positioned the New Zealanders and other non-white colonial groups as superior to the British men. The New Zealanders were willing to mix with martially able non-white men – the Maoris and ‘especially’ the Ghurkhas – but the white British men were described in terms usually employed about the ‘natives’ in Egypt. Though Ryburn acknowledged that there were exceptions – he described the Royal Scots as ‘great chaps, terribly good natured’ and an English officer as very kind – he regarded the majority of the Tommies as incapable.¹¹⁸ Others would similarly describe a kinship with the martially endowed Ghurkhas at the expense of the Tommies. An anonymous New Zealander wrote that the Ghurkhas were ‘the best fighters in the field. They came up from down the coast, they don’t like fighting with the Tommies, they wanted to come up and fight with the Australians and New Zealanders’.¹¹⁹ In martial races discourse, links between groups of

¹¹⁴ Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 14.

¹¹⁵ William George Malone, *The Great Adventure: New Zealand soldiers describe the First World War* ed. by Nicholas Boyack, E. P. Malone and Jock Phillips (Wellington: Allen and Unwin, 1988), 19 April 1915.

¹¹⁶ NAMNZ, 1991-2781, Letters of William Malcolm, 19 February 1918.

¹¹⁷ Ryburn, 20 August 1916.

¹¹⁸ Ryburn, 9 May 1915, 19 May 1915.

¹¹⁹ NAMNZ, 1999-1086, Anonymous Account.

supposed prowess were commonly drawn, as between the Highlanders and Sikhs during the first and second reliefs of the Siege of Lucknow, in India, in 1857.¹²⁰ Through their alignment with the Ghurkhas, the Anzac forces secured their national reputations for combatant strength. Their willingness for association with these non-white groups, including in the earlier descriptions of communality with the Maori, while they criticised the British reflected, too, the national and political aspirations of New Zealand (and Australia) at this time. The white dominions' growing independence from the Mother Country and increasing national standing put them in competition with largely 'white' Britain, but the dominion soldiers did not, it seems, recognise the non-white colonies as an immediate threat to their global position. Despite nationalist and anti-colonialist movements in India, the attitudes of the white dominions revealed their willingness to accept martial rhetorics of both the strength and the loyalty of these colonial troops.

Physical Spectacles at Camp

While the analysis so far has focused on seemingly spontaneous encounters at camp and some structures that encouraged the men's sociability, there were occasional spectacular performances in camp that explicitly staged masculinities and martial abilities and which also served as a form of encounter. In this section, war dances and sports are examined as statements of physicality, strength and manly expression that played up notions of race, ethnicity, nationality and masculinity. War dances were examples of martial demonstrations, originally intended as a prelude to battle, but were also enacted at sports days and official visits. Representations of these occasions are particularly revealing in the case of non-white colonial groups, as their limited service duties were juxtaposed with 'authentic' and traditional combat cultures. I compare the Maori haka with the Zulu war dance to reveal how discourses around the Maori troops and the men of the SANLC changed the representations of these similar practices. I then move to sports and games, an important element of both war and

¹²⁰ Streets, p. 69.

empire, to explore how such activities could both coalesce and divide colonial groups, framed by interpretations of colonial and martial masculinities.

War dances served a number of functions: they could be used to welcome dignitaries, to provide entertainment and activity for the troops and to display of masculine strength and abilities. 'Zulu war dances' are a British colonial construction 'built out of a mix of misunderstanding, paranoia, and propaganda'.¹²¹ A 'Zulu war dance' had been introduced into the Boy Scout movement in Britain by Robert Baden Powell to instil 'military discipline and martial courage', drawing on his service in as a professional soldier in the British imperial army in Africa, but adapting it for his own purposes.¹²² It has been suggested that 'Zulu war dances' originated from the traditional preliminaries of Zulu *impis* going into battle, intended to challenge and intimidate the enemy, as well as stimulate the battle lust of their own soldiers.¹²³ The Zulus were perhaps the most familiar Southern African tribe to a British audience: their 'martial ferocity' well known from the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879.¹²⁴ Yet, the contingents of the SANLC were made up of numerous different tribes and only 300 Zulu had been recruited by March 1917. The association of the corps with this practice was unrepresentative and saw a conflation of the various tribal differences.¹²⁵ The haka is more 'authentic', with concrete Maori origins.¹²⁶ The highly stylized and stereotyped movements of the haka, such as the exaggerated facial expressions and the rhythmic striking of flesh, are designed to make the performers seem as intimidating as possible. The performers' protruding tongues are a phallic symbol of their manliness and virility.¹²⁷ Though culturally different, the haka and the 'Zulu war dance' share similar motivations and symbolisms.

¹²¹ David Chidester, *Empire of Religion: Imperialism and Comparative Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), p. 258.

¹²² Chidester, p. 258.

¹²³ Joel Alswang, *The South African Dictionary of Sport* (Claremont: Spearhead, 2000), p. 242.

¹²⁴ *Boys' Own* stories and novels like G. A. Henty, *The Young Colonists: A Story of the Zulu and Boer Wars* (1885) told fantastic tales of imperial adventures in Africa and depictions of African tribes.

¹²⁵ Winegard, p. 170.

¹²⁶ Suzanne Youngerman, 'Maori Dancing since the Eighteenth Century', *Ethnomusicology*, 18, 1 (1974), 77.

¹²⁷ Nathan Matthews, 'The Physicality of Maori Message Transmission - Ko te tinana, he waka tuku kōrero', *Junctures*, 3 (2004), 15.

During the service of the SANLC in France in 1917, a sports day was held at Dannes which included a Zulu war dance. Photographed by Ernest Brookes as part of the Ministry of Information's official collection, the proliferation of images of this event in contrast to the paucity of other photographs of the SANLC at war indicate the fascination with this 'authentic' tribal practice demonstrated by 'native' Africans in wartime France.¹²⁸ As Greg Hynes' work on imperial perceptions in British photographic propaganda from the First World War has revealed, racial difference was often excluded from the visual record: white British and Dominion troops were photographed in the inner sanctum of the British imperial family, 'with non-white native, indigenous and colonial troops on the periphery.'¹²⁹ These photographs highlighted and emphasised racial difference: the pictures revealed how the SANLC had 'nothing in common' with most of the men of the British Army Corps, in regards to race, language, customs and clothes.¹³⁰



Soldiers of the South African Native Labour Corps seen doing a 'Zulu war dance' during a sports day at Dannes, 24th June 1917.¹³¹

¹²⁸ Winegard, p. 170

¹²⁹ Greg Hynes, 'Picturing the Empire: Enduring Imperial Perceptions and Depictions in British First World War Photographic Propaganda', *Endurance and the First World War: Experiences and Legacies in New Zealand and Australia* ed. by David Monger, Sarah Murray and Katie Pickles (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), p. 220.

¹³⁰ Bourke, p. 148.

¹³¹ IWM, Photographs, Q 2388.

Time frames merge within the photograph as the ‘ancient’ presentation of the martial ‘Zulus’ in traditional dress and carrying *assegai* or *ikhwa*, forms of pole weapon used by the Zulu, were placed in contrast to the ‘modern’ warfare of the European front, embodied in the uniformed and upright black man on the photograph’s edge. The uniformed audience awaiting the performance on the dunes were the peripheral figures, amplifying the ‘otherness’ of the centrally positioned ‘Zulu’ men. The display of martial prowess and combatant abilities within the photographs takes on certain irony in the context of the limits on SANLC service as non-combatants, revealing their physical power and beauty at the same time as promoting their exoticism. This encounter between members of the SANLC and white British Army elites could be read as an acknowledgement of the essential work of the labour corps: Muti, son of Ntshingwayo, Zungu Tribe, Zululand was presented to General John Maxwell, one of the many white officers in the audience.¹³² It was an opportunity to share a cultural tradition that demonstrated a heritage of black, African, fighting prowess. Certainly when white South African soldiers co-opted the Zulu war dance during the war, it was a statement of their combatant culture as both British and African. As Bill Nasson has written, ‘for white infantrymen, the make-believe cultural affinity reinforced a potent martial message: the fighting spirit of the 3rd South African Infantry could match that of a nineteenth-century *Shakan impi* or war party.’¹³³ Playing at ‘Zulus’, much like the boy scouts, was a way of disrupting the horrors and monotony of life on the Western Front, ‘fleeting moments of pantomime relief’.¹³⁴ Yet the recognition and presentation of SANLC’s contribution in this war dance relied on white understanding of an exotic ‘ferocious’ Zulu culture, which served to reinforce the separate and inferior status of the troops.

The photographic representation of the Maori haka during the war was quite different, influenced by their status as combatants, even if they did not fight on all fronts.

¹³² Muti, son of Ntshingwayo, Zungu Tribe, Zululand, being presented to Q.M.G. (General Maxwell), South African Native Labour Corps War Dance and Sports; Dannes 24 June 1917. IWM, Photographs, Q2392.

¹³³ Bill Nasson, ‘Delville Wood and South African Great War Commemoration’, *The English Historical Review*, 119, 480 (2004), 59.

¹³⁴ Nasson, ‘Delville Wood’, 59.



Maori Pioneer Battalion performing a haka.¹³⁵

In the above photograph, taken by Henry Armytage Sanders, an Englishman who was the first official photographer for New Zealand in France and Belgium, the Maori Pioneer Battalion were captured mid-haka. This was a performance for Sir Joseph Ward, who had been Prime Minister of New Zealand until 1912, and William Massey, who was the current New Zealand Prime Minister, in France, on 30 June 1918. Throughout the war, the Maori contingent performed war dances, hakas and songs for senior commandments and dignitaries, which was often resented by the men.¹³⁶ The photograph featured in James Cowan's history of the Maoris during the First World War was entitled 'A Haka for the Chiefs', though no description of the event was given.¹³⁷ Its clear purpose – a welcome for the arriving New Zealand officials – gave the occasion an official military character: the men were in uniforms and their kit bags were still visible on the grass, suggesting that this was just one element in a longer inspection of the Maori troops. The previous combatant status of the troops at Gallipoli was not forgotten and the photograph recalled their militarism. Though

¹³⁵ Pioneer Battalion performing a haka. Royal New Zealand Returned and Services' Association: New Zealand official negatives, World War 1914-1918. Ref: 1/2-013282-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. < <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22893971> >[accessed: 6 May 2016]

¹³⁶ Winegard, p. 100.

¹³⁷ Cowan, p. 128.

the amplified facial expressions of the haka are evident in the image, the movements seem restrained: military formation was maintained and non-white 'expression' was controlled. Equally, the fact that the watching white men were in the minority and were familiar with the haka – named as 'Chiefs' and sharing identity with the performers –mediated the exoticism of the moment. Though taken by a New Zealand official photographer, the photograph would have had an audience within Britain and it was very likely used to promote the notion of the Maori people as an integrated element of a New Zealand identity. Corresponding with Maori status as 'higher order' non-white people and renowned soldiers, there seems less desire to present an image of Maori non-white masculinity in direct opposition to white masculinity as there was with the South African labourers, despite the martial qualities of the 'Zulu warrior'.¹³⁸ Instead their higher position in the racial hierarchy of the British Empire was reinforced. When white New Zealanders performed the haka, as the Canterbury Regiment did in Stanley Natusch's description of arriving in Egypt, it was a symbol of collective New Zealand identity rather than the 'light relief' that Nasson described of white men's Zulu war dances. As Natusch's boat passed camps of English and Indian soldiers, the men were asked 'Who are you?' In response, 'we answered "NZ" and gave them our haka.'¹³⁹ While Natusch was white, he claimed the haka as 'ours', a way for the New Zealanders to be identified and recognised, a national emblem. The haka had been associated with the New Zealand All Blacks rugby team since the 1905 tour, indicating, perhaps, why it had become a common display of national identity, pride and achievement.¹⁴⁰ While the photographs of the SANLC reinforced the colonial and racial identities of the black labourers in picturing them as 'fearsome Zulu warriors', representations of the haka emphasised Maori integration into the military, rather than their separation. The photographic record does not, though, include the agency of either non-white group in these scenarios.

¹³⁸ Bennett, 'Maori as honorary members', 36.

¹³⁹ Natusch, 4 December 1914.

¹⁴⁰ Tony Collins, 'English Rugby Union and the First World War', *The Historical Journal*, 45 (2002), 800.

War dances often occurred as part of sports days. The sports themselves were significant in the construction and demonstration of identity, through masculine spectacle. Sport was equally necessary for providing the men with defined leisure time separate from their work.¹⁴¹ Sporting vocabulary was frequently used as euphemism for the business of war: 'Play Up! Play Up! And win the game!' The identification of games and military endeavour was particularly close during the First World War, to the point of becoming integral to our understanding of the conflict.¹⁴² Essential to the soldiers' training, it was a way of maintaining fitness and agility during the slow trench warfare.¹⁴³ Sport boosted morale and the army recognised the benefits of sport and exercise for mental, as well as physical health. But sport also had colonial significance. The increased emphasis on sporting prowess in public schools in Britain and the Empire for both educational and moral purposes in the late nineteenth century was uniquely didactic, and this precipitated the importance of games during the war.¹⁴⁴ International tours, and victories, by rugby teams from South Africa (1906) and New Zealand (1905) – the original All Blacks – to Britain prior to the war had demonstrated how sport could develop 'a healthy masculine nation' in the colonies, in the face of the home nation's defeat and concerns about the race of the nation.¹⁴⁵ Sports, including cricket and rugby, were seen as a tool to unite the British Empire, though this was, of course, more complex in operation.¹⁴⁶ Cricket, in particular, was thought to be able to transform the 'colonised' into English gentlemen – it was also used as a method for missionaries as it was so inextricably bound in Protestant Christianity.¹⁴⁷ While sport could maintain and strengthen the increasingly unstable bounds of empire in the early twentieth century, there were specific facets to this loyalty. Though sports like rugby and cricket represented a marked link to the British Empire and 'Anglophile culture', not only in Australia and New Zealand but also for

¹⁴¹ Bourke, p. 137.

¹⁴² Collins, 737.

¹⁴³ Arnaud Waquet, 'Sport in the Trenches: The New Deal for Masculinity in France', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 28, 3 (2011).

¹⁴⁴ Colin Veitch, "'Play up! Play up! And Win the War!'" Football, the Nation and the First World War, 1914-15', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 20, 3 (1985), 364.

¹⁴⁵ Collins, 800.

¹⁴⁶ Dominic Malcolm, *Globalising Cricket: Englishness, Empire and Identity* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), p. 49.

¹⁴⁷ Anthony Bateman, *Cricket, Literature and Culture: Symbolising the Nation, Destabilising Empire* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 122.

black middle classes in the West Indies, Smith has suggested that sport had become ‘a metaphor for *white* racial dominance within the Empire’.¹⁴⁸ Simultaneously though, the playing of sports could also challenge the operation of white British cultures.¹⁴⁹ As Patrick McDevitt has explored,

Sport also proved to be a source of substantial tension by providing a site where the foundational ideologies of British imperialism, such as race, nationalism, and manhood, were contested and challenged.¹⁵⁰

Sports were a literal ‘playing field’ for the competitions of masculinity between the colonies and the centre, just as the First World War tested race, nationalism and masculinity on the battlefield. Non-white sporting success prior to the war, like for the Maoris who played for the New Zealand All Blacks or African-American heavy weight champion boxer Jack Johnson, challenged the construction of black masculinity in opposition to the white British imperial centre.¹⁵¹ Even seeing black men playing ‘English’ sports, like cricket, could change the sports’ character; in 1900, for the first time, a West Indies cricket team played in England with five black players.¹⁵² Sport and war therefore had a similar function in testing physicality and masculinity – a function that was heightened in the sports played during the war.

The two ideas, of war as sport and of sport’s significance within the Empire, were in operation in the games played in military camps. The military links with games in the late Victorian and early Edwardian period had begun to conflate the discourse around the schoolboy cricketer and the manly ideal of the ‘imperial, rather than ‘colonial’, soldier.¹⁵³ The First World War’s mobilisation of so many colonial troops extended the sporting networks and rhetoric to other colonial groups. Even the description of the Maori having ‘the honour of starting the ball’ by a white New Zealander before the Gallipoli campaign reflected their

¹⁴⁸ Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 105, my emphasis.

¹⁴⁹ Daryl Adair, John Nauright and Murray Phillips, ‘Playing fields through to battlefields: The development of Australian sporting manhood in its imperial context, c. 1850–1918’, *Journal of Australian Studies*, 22, 56 (1998), 61.

¹⁵⁰ Patrick McDevitt, *May the Best Man Win: Sport, Masculinity, and Nationalism in Great Britain and the Empire, 1880-1935* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 7.

¹⁵¹ Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 106.

¹⁵² Bateman, p. 158.

¹⁵³ Bateman, p. 42.

combatant status and integration into the imperial family of martial races.¹⁵⁴ At camp, sporting experience could help to integrate the colonial troops. New Zealander Charles Beeson wrote about how sport seemed to reinforce not only the bonds of the British Empire but also those with her Allies during his service on the Western Front:

Belgians, French, Tommies, Black chaps from the West Indies and New Zealanders are all here at this spot and all appear to get on well together. Last night our boys played the French football. It was exciting; we won by 9 to 3. The Maoris amused the French very much.¹⁵⁵

While the non-white Maori ‘amused’ the French, now non-combatants rather than the soldiers of Gallipoli, sport was evidently a way of forming international bonds, superseding national (and linguistic) differences with healthy competition. Competition remained a significant part of sport though. While not necessarily provoking tension or hostility, national allegiances and ‘winning’ remained important. Supporting a battalion team or a national team helped foster a sense of group identity.¹⁵⁶ South African Ellis Newton wrote home to his wife Madge that Willie, a mutual friend had gone to see ‘our boys’ play the New Zealanders and ‘is awfully keen just now at watching rugby. In fact he gets as excited as the players’.¹⁵⁷ Rugby matches were clearly a welcome source of entertainment but winning was important too. Stanley Natusch wrote about a series of boxing matches in Egypt in 1915: ‘Four out of five fights went to New Zealanders, one only going to the Australians. The “cleanness” of the sport was excellent and a fine evening’s entertainment, favourably commented on everywhere.’¹⁵⁸ Recorded at the beginnings of Anzac service, not long after each group had arrived in Egypt, made Natusch’s assessment of the sporting strength of the Australians as significant as comparing their martial potential.

The introduction of ‘race’ as a factor within the sports in military camps further influenced its dynamics. Allowing black men to compete with white men in sporting activity was as

¹⁵⁴ NAMNZ, 1999-1086, 9 August 1915.

¹⁵⁵ AWM, MS 2002-182, Papers of Charles Basil Beeson, 5 July 1917.

¹⁵⁶ David Monger, ‘Sporting Journalism and the Maintenance of British Servicemen’s Ties to Civilian Life in First World War Propaganda’, *Sport in History*, 30, 3 (2010), 379.

¹⁵⁷ IWM, Documents 13253, Letters of Ellis Newton, 7 February 1916.

¹⁵⁸ Natusch, 22 January 1915.

challenging to white predominance as the arming of black men to fight in Europe: it implied racial, particularly physical, equality. The Maori competed against the French in football in the above example and would also, during their service in the forestry division, participate in an ‘interesting forestry competition’ at La Motte on 30 April 1916 with the French bucherons. ‘The Pioneer team won by three minutes’ – a significant demonstration of their skills and physicality.¹⁵⁹ Yet both football and forestry were, ostensibly, non-contact sports. The potential of physical contact between races during sports in the war could be seen as threatening, given the discourses around non-white violence, lack of loyalty and lack of control. Could ‘fair play’ be ensured in competitions between white and non-white? The fact that the BWIR battalions in Egypt and Palestine, where they were allowed to fight as combatants, were recorded as taking part only in non-contact sports – cricket matches and athletic meets – is telling.¹⁶⁰ The BWIR boxing match described by Horner in France was only between the West Indians, not with any other white national groups. Further still, the SANLC men, who were meant to be entirely segregated, competed only against each other at their sports day in Dannes, in both a tug-of-war and a running race. As men who had already been determined to be fit only for labour duties, to prove their strength against those viewed as superior would represent an extreme challenge to the racial order.

Martial races discourses found new traction during the First World War. In the settings of military camps, where colonial troops from across the world met and mingled, the ability to compare masculinities and combatant cultures usually kept carefully in order made being ‘martial’ high priority. Springbok dependence on both their Highland and Zulu identity indicated how existing rhetoric bolstered the combatant cultures of newer nations. The colonial combatants and non-combatants not only demonstrated their fitness to fight for the Mother Country but their strength on their own terms, in national or ethnic grouping. The flexibility of martial race theories, designed like much of colonial rhetoric to be applied when needed to exert power and control, left it open to adaptation. The specific ‘racial’

¹⁵⁹ Cowan, p. 77.

¹⁶⁰ Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 107.

characteristics of Maori men, demonstrated both in their military service (even as labourers) and in their cultural performances of masculinity revealed their integration into the imperial family. Simultaneously, the existing order could be challenged. Descriptions of West Indian service, as combatants and non-combatants, as a significant part of 'war' revealed them as the 'good soldiers' the British Army did not believe them to be and was used to drive demands for their political enfranchisement. Criticism of the British Army, their 'racial vulnerability' on display, could strengthen the dominions' claims to independence. There were limits, though, to how far the order could be disrupted or reorganised by the war. The black men of the SANLC were confirmed as exotic and 'savage' through their Zulu war dances, while their labour duties removed any potential for exceptional martial narratives.

Amongst the tensions of national and racial masculinities were opportunities in camp for social relations between the colonial groups. The lines and numbers of military strategy would translate into 'colourful' environments at camp, which the men attempted to distil in their communications home. The frequency and potential of encounters at camp provoked a range of emotional responses to meeting new groups: curiosity, friendship, and intimacy. Yet colonial rhetoric and distinctions were deeply ingrained even in social structures. The ambiguities of colonial relations at camp were emphasised further in the human connections encouraged by encounter, in the social facilities provided for the troops and in more spontaneous encounters, which were in stark contrast to the racism enacted in these spaces.

Chapter Four

Exploring the Sights: Tourism as Encounter



New Zealand YMCA Party at the Zoo, London.¹

Writing home to New Zealand, Henry Kitson reflected on being both a soldier and a tourist during the First World War: ‘there is one thing; I am getting round the world on the cheap and seeing plenty of places.’² The men mobilised from throughout the British Empire in this global conflict had the opportunity to explore places that they had never been to before. Some replicated the journeys between colony and metropole made by thousands prior to war’s outbreak, like the men at the zoo above, while others echoed the expeditions or pilgrimages to ancient lands.³ Travel has been seen as an attractive facet of military service

¹ AWMM, PH-ALB-413, New Zealand YMCA Party at the Zoo, London.

² Kitson, 28 July 1915.

³ Angela Woollacott estimates 10,000 visitors annually from New Zealand and Australia from the late 1880s to beyond 1900. Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune in London*, p. 5.

that encouraged volunteerism.⁴ This chapter investigates the experience of tourism for the men from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies in two destinations: Egypt, specifically the cities of Cairo and Alexandria, and London. Tourism was an important part of the men's service. 'Arriving' in London – the 'Big City' – or seeing the pyramids was a marker of success and achievement and a time of relative freedom from the war. When the men wrote about leave, it was also a more positive and comprehensive activity than warfare, both to the men and to their families reading at home. Representations of tourist activity appear frequently in letters and diaries, relying on the practised genre of the travel diary, popularised in the eighteenth and nineteenth century tradition of the Grand Tour.⁵ Pratt has argued that travel books 'gave European reading publics a sense of ownership, entitlement and familiarity with respect to the distant parts of the world that were being explored, invaded, invested in and colonized.'⁶ By writing about their tourist experience, the soldiers could make sense of the new urban environments they explored, as 'other' as the war itself, bolstering and securing their status in the process. While work on the 'soldier as tourist', particularly by Australian historians, has complicated how far the analogy of war service as a tour can be taken, how the men represented their sightseeing rendered war a sideshow. As New Zealander Randolph Gray expressed, during his time in London in 1917, he had 'forgotten about the war'.⁷ Tourism became part of how the troops represented their war experience. The simultaneity of being soldier and tourist allowed the men to make the most of these opportunities.

By understanding tourism as a form of encounter and tracing the similarities of experience between the different colonial groups, I again think more laterally about another form of

⁴ Richard White, 'Motives for Joining Up: self-sacrifice, self-interest and social class, 1914-18', *Journal of the Australian War Memorial* 9, 3 (1986); 'The Soldier as Tourist: The Australian Experiences of the Great War', *War & Society*, 5, 1 (1987). In the accounts I have read, soldiers express pleasure at the opportunity for travel during service, but do not explicitly record it as a reason for enlistment.

⁵ Helen Carr, 'Modernism and Travel, 1880-1940', *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* ed. by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 74.

⁶ Pratt p. 3.

⁷ White, 'The Soldier as Tourist'; James Wieland, 'There and Back with the ANZACs: More than Touring', *Perceiving Other Worlds* ed. by Edwin Thumbo (Singapore: Times Academic Press, 1991); Gray, 4 February 1917.

colonial experience during the war. The notable deficiency in this chapter is the South African Native Labour Corps (SANLC), who are entirely absent from the archival records of tourism, revealing an important disconnect in broader understandings of colonial narratives.⁸ For the men of the British West Indies Regiment (BWIR), too, lack of leave constituted a grievance: many who enlisted in 1915 served until the end of the war without acceptable amounts of leave.⁹ The experiences of those men of the BWIR who did tour Cairo, Alexandria and London are discussed here. As well as comparing the troops' experience, the chapter compares, too, the different ways in which the cities were represented. Through this comparative framework, the chapter asks questions of categories of whiteness and blackness, as well as of ethnicity and class, in the tourist experience of urban destinations during the war. I build upon previous work on military leave experiences to probe further into these representations, beyond Anzac riots in Cairo or colonial troops coming 'home' to London. The place of colonialism and colonial identities in all three cities will be considered. How did prestige, privilege and status influence behaviour in the Egyptian cities? How would identification as 'colonial' mitigate experiences of London as the imperial metropolis?

The men's representations of their time in these cities reveals confrontations between their expectations about the destination, magnified by the potential of being a tourist, and their experience. Leave brought sudden freedom from the military, slightly restricted by the continued wearing of uniform, and was full of potential; as Gray expressed

The sense of freedom from army restraint is a thing you can never comprehend until you have been under the yoke, and are set free, even for a day [...] This was London, and it was my innings.¹⁰

The men's desire and determination to make the most of being on leave amplified the soldiers' expectations of the city. The process of encounter would therefore be influenced by the tensions within the city and of the men's identity: between expectation and experience, freedom and control, soldier and civilian. In recent years, theorists of the city like Soja,

⁸ The absence of black South African material on tourism seems both officially enforced upon them and not included by them as part of their narrative arcs.

⁹ The *West Indian*, 11 April 1919, p. 4.

¹⁰ Gray, 4 February 1917.

Lefebvre and Harvey have revealed the multiple social forces at play in urban settings, possibilities and restrictions in coexistence.¹¹ The ‘softness’ of urban spaces, as Jonathan Raban argues, could provide a framework and freedom for expression and performance, ‘amenable to a dazzling and libidinous variety of lives, dreams, interpretations.’¹² Yet regulations of urban space were also at work, ordering activity. The city creates a paradox, as Soja has described, that simultaneously ‘enhances and inhibits, provides new room and imprisons, offers solution but soon beckons to be destroyed.’¹³ The men’s experience of the cities saw encounters on multiple levels as they encountered the contradictions between their status as soldiers and tourists, their imaginings and the reality of the urban space and the cities’ own contradictions.

London, Cairo and Alexandria were part of a world that the troops had learnt about through picture postcards, cigarette cards and juvenile journals that presented the British Empire as colourful, exotic and sensory.¹⁴ Enabled by technological developments in printing, photography and film, the colonies and dominions were shown a version of Empire centred on colonial exploits and heroism (by white colonisers) in distant and exotic locales or on the pageantry of imperial London. Imperial exhibitions in the metropolis, depicting the rich cultures of the British Empire and London’s centrality to the imperial project, were both reported on and replicated throughout the Empire. New Zealand hosted colonial exhibitions in 1865 and 1906-7, Cape Town in 1877 and Jamaica in 1891.¹⁵ The troops had preconceptions of the cities that they were able to explore while on leave based on the versions presented in imperial propaganda. Yet the three cities were very different. Most specifically, family networks and knowledge in England supplemented propaganda, while there would be very few men who had family members among Egypt’s European population.

¹¹ Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: the Reassertion of Space in Social Critical Theory* (London: Verso, 1989); Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* trans. by Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991); David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), pp. 213-14.

¹² Jonathan Raban, *Soft City* (London: Picador, 1974), p.15

¹³ Soja, p. 102.

¹⁴ John MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p. 17.

¹⁵ MacKenzie, p. 99.

The distance between colony and metropolis was shortened for those in the white dominions who still had family in Britain. Equally for those West Indian men who had family members who were students, intellectuals or seamen, they too might have prior impressions of travel and tourism.¹⁶

This chapter explores the Egyptian cities together and then London, with details about when and where the soldiers were stationed in relation to these cities and when they would go on leave. Egypt was the main destination for soldiers from New Zealand from late 1914, the site of their initial training and a base during the Gallipoli campaign. London became the prime destination for their leave once the majority of New Zealand troops moved to the Western Front from the end of 1915.¹⁷ The white soldiers from South Africa trained in England from August 1915 until December 1915, when they had leave in London, before spending three months in Egypt. Most returned to the Western Front in 1916 and London once again became their urban destination of choice. The men from the West Indies were in England from the end of 1915, with three battalions sent to Alexandria from April 1916, as well as those men who served in France until 1918. I investigate how the troops represented their experiences in these cities, despite the different times when they were on leave. The chapter considers how the men negotiated the differences between their expectations and the reality and explores how their ethnicity intersected with other factors, including class, to influence their 'tourist selves'. In the final section, the different destinations are drawn together to compare representations of sexual activity with women in the urban spaces as part of tourist experience, where encounters between space, gender and race could ignite particular tensions.

The Sphinx and Shepherd's Hotel: Tourism in Egypt

Tourism in Egypt had grown vigorously throughout the nineteenth century in response to Western interest. Egypt was the first major country outside Europe where travel to a distant

¹⁶ Schwarz, 'Crossing the Seas', *West Indian Intellectuals in Britain*.

¹⁷ Barnes, *New Zealand's London*, p. 16.

‘exotic territory’ was both convenient and affordable.¹⁸ The Grand Tour had expanded to encompass ancient cultural and historical centres like Greece, Egypt and Palestine as transport improved. By 1872, steamships could take tourists from Italy to Alexandria in just three and a half days.¹⁹ Organised tours by Thomas Cook and American Express started in the 1860s bringing thousands of travellers to the Middle East, accompanied by tourist guidebooks from Baedeker. By the early 1880s, between five and six thousand tourists passed through Cook’s Cairo office.²⁰ Cafés and bars in Cairo had increased from 2,316 to 7,745 in the 1890s to support the growing industry.²¹ In the tourist literature of the period, ‘admiration of the Ancient Egyptians seems to grow at the expense of any respect for the civilization of modern Egypt’, creating a trope of the country’s ‘ancientness’ in the tourist narrative of Cairo and Alexandria, which the soldiers could draw upon as a template.²² As Keck has reflected, Egyptians were ‘hardly passive’ in the face of this tourism and instead ‘encouraged, anticipated and capitalized on these tourists by finding ways to make their country as manageable for them as possible’.²³ At the same time as promoting Ancient Egypt, though, the tourist industry had developed sites of Western luxury and sociability, which could be accessed by the troops.

The growing tourist industry was fuelled by the increase in scholarly activity in Egypt from the invasion of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1798, concerned with investigations of the ancient past to uncover the secrets of the pyramids and the Sphinx. Popular interest had been driven by discoveries like the deciphering of hieroglyphic writing.²⁴ Egypt held a prominent place in the works of classical historians, which were an essential element of public school and

¹⁸ Stephen L. Keck, ‘Going out and doing something’: Victorian tourists in Egypt and the ‘tourist ethic’, *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 8 (2010), 294; Waleed Hazbun, ‘The East as exhibit’, *The business of tourism* ed. by P. Scranton and J.F. Davidson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

¹⁹ John David Wortham, *British Egyptology, 1549-1906* (Devon: David and Charles, 1971), p. 85.

²⁰ Doron Bar and Kobi Cohen-Hattab, ‘A New Kind of Pilgrimage: The Modern Tourist Pilgrim of Nineteenth Century and Early Twentieth Century Palestine’, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 39, 2 (2003), 133.

²¹ Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 117.

²² John Barrell, ‘Death on the Nile: Fantasy and the Literature of Tourism 1840-1860’, *Essays in Criticism*, XLI, 2 (1991), 98; Keck, 299.

²³ Keck, 294.

²⁴ Wortham, p. 49.

university education at that time.²⁵ Equally, popular fiction of the period, such as Jane Loudon Webb, *The Mummy* (1827), Richard Marsh, *The Beetle – Strange Currencies* (1897) and Edith Nesbit, *The Story of the Amulet* (1906), produced what Maria Fleischhack has called ‘Egyptianising’ narratives that played on tropes of the fantastic, the ‘other’ and ancient mystique.²⁶ Not all authors of this fantastic fiction visited Egypt; most texts seem to have been inspired by museum visits.²⁷ The British Museum and Egyptian collections more generally played a significant part in ‘the understanding and image of ancient Egypt in eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain.’²⁸ Alongside the archaeological discoveries which produced ‘Egyptomania’ and their accompanying cultural productions were the dramatic events surrounding British colonial rule from 1882: the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the death of General Gordon at Khartoum in 1885 and Lord Kitchener’s defeat of the Madhist forces in 1898.²⁹ The political turbulence in Egypt, and British intervention, ensured Western fascination with the country.

Photographic expeditions in the nineteenth century focused, too, on the sights of Ancient Egypt as part of the ‘production of a space of constructed visibility’ in which Egypt was seen by European and American observers ‘as a monumental space, empty, abstracted and largely outside the spaces of both ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ Egypt.’³⁰ The photography of Egypt’s landscapes, cleared of ‘native’ presence, turned the remains of antiquity into ‘a transparent space that could be fully “known” by the colonial gaze.’³¹ Yet these sights were adjacent to modern and developing cities with large populations with whom the troops also interacted. From the beginning of the twentieth century, the cities began to urbanise. Alexandria was designed more around Western lines and felt more European than Cairo. It was the first base

²⁵ Wortham, p. 93.

²⁶ Maria Fleischhack, *Narrating Ancient Egypt: The Representation of Ancient Egypt in Nineteenth-Century and Early Twentieth-Century Fantastic Fiction* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2015), p. 38.

²⁷ Fleischhack, p. 38.

²⁸ Fleischhack, p. 39.

²⁹ Keck, 293.

³⁰ Derek Gregory, ‘Emperors of the Gaze: Photographic Practices and Productions of Space in Egypt, 1839-1914’, *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* ed. by Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan (I. B. Tauris and Co. Ltd: London, 2003), p. 196.

³¹ Gregory, p. 196.

for large numbers of hotels for European visitors.³² Cairo was frequently seen as the first real entry point into Egypt because of its more Islamic architectural style, particularly in the older parts of the city in its East. While the old city had suffered a clear relative decline, modern economic activities were moved towards the west and the north of Cairo, which remained ‘the town designed under Isma’il’.³³ The big shops, boutiques, banks and hotels including Shepherd’s Hotel were concentrated here, as well as the European population.³⁴ Following the establishment of the British Consulate General in Cairo, the Qasr al-Dubara area was divided into lots; from 1906 Garden City began to develop ‘beautiful residences along the streets in curved lines, in the English manner’.³⁵ Roads, cars and sewers were built in the early twentieth century. Egypt’s ‘Eastern-ness’ became moderated by the settlement of Europeans in Cairo and Alexandria, the accompanying urban developments and the mechanisms for Western tourism that had been established in these cities.

The arrival of the colonial troops in Egypt represented something of an invasion. More than 20,000 ‘foreigners’ suddenly flocked into Alexandria and Cairo in 1914.³⁶ At the time, Cairo had a population of around 700,000.³⁷ The New Zealanders, including Maori, were the first troops to arrive in Egypt from December 1914, diverted on their journey to England.

Though they were despatched to deal with Bedouin forces in late January 1915 and saw ‘serious’ fighting in Palestine from February 1915, they were predominantly in Egypt for training.³⁸ After rest following the Gallipoli campaign, the New Zealanders who remained in Egypt began patrol work in the Egyptian desert and along the Nile to deal with the rising of

³² Lynne Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook’s Tours: A history of leisure travel 1750 to 1915* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1997), p. 237.

³³ André Raymond, ‘Cairo’, *The Modern Middle East: A Reader* ed. by Albert Hourani, Philip S. Khoury and Mary C. Wilson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), p. 323.

³⁴ Raymond, p. 323.

³⁵ Raymond, p. 321.

³⁶ Matthew Wright, *Western Front: The New Zealand Division in the First World War, 1916-18* (Auckland: Reed, 2005), p. 59.

³⁷ Raymond gives a figure of 791,000 for the Cairo population in 1917, 6.2% of the population of Egypt, p. 318. The war years were a period of rapid population expansion in Cairo, with 1,060,000 inhabitants by 1927.

³⁸ Wright, *Western Front*, p. 28, p. 30.

the Senussi.³⁹ Stationed at Zeitoun Camp, on the other side of Cairo from the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) at Mena and Maadi, the New Zealanders travelled into the city using the very cheap tram system on free evenings and during longer periods of leave.⁴⁰ A network of mass transportation had been developed from 1894 and the city had thirty tramlines by 1917.⁴¹ The *Egyptian Gazette*, the English language newspaper established in Alexandria in 1880 by a group of British people living in Egypt, recorded the large numbers of New Zealand troops coming into the city from late 1914, 'all trams running to Cairo were packed with troops standing shoulder to shoulder'.⁴² The white South African men of the SAIB were also diverted to Egypt, arriving in Alexandria in January 1916. The West Indian men of the BWIR were the last of the three groups to arrive in Egypt. By April 1916, two battalions of the BWIR were part of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force and their training continued at Mex Camp, six miles west of Alexandria, where the SAIB had been stationed.⁴³ Significantly, the BWIR men saw combatant service in Egypt and Palestine.

Bart Ziino's work demonstrates that soldiers held parallel identities as soldiers and tourists during the war. Though fully aware of the horrors of war, soldiers also expressed and acted upon desires to explore their destinations when on leave.⁴⁴ Going on leave in Egypt was an opportunity for the colonial troops to experience the ancient sights of the pyramids and the sphinx that were central to the tourist agenda, reflecting a desire for 'authenticity'.⁴⁵ The soldiers were determined to record their own contact with the ancient Egyptian past and the arrival of twentieth century war into another era by visualising the impact of their military presence in Egypt. Films including *Egypt and her Defenders* (1914), *Australian Contingent in Egypt* (1915) and *Patrol in the Desert* (1915) showed troops in front of the Sphinx and Pyramids,

³⁹ Kitchen, p. 154.

⁴⁰ Matthew Wright, *Shattered Glory*, p. 59; Suzanne Brugger, *Australians and Egypt, 1914-1919* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1980), p. 38.

⁴¹ Raymond, p. 320.

⁴² 'New Zealanders at the YMCA Tent', *Egyptian Gazette*, 10 December 1914.

⁴³ Howe, *Race, War and Nationalism*, p. 95.

⁴⁴ Bart Ziino, 'A Kind of Round Trip: Australian Soldiers and the Tourist Analogy, 1914-1918', *War & Society*, 25 (2006), 52.

⁴⁵ Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), p. 94.

often in silhouette.⁴⁶ An official photograph of New Zealanders swarming through the sights records the encounter between the soldiers and the historic monuments.



New Zealanders Visit Sphinx and the Pyramids.⁴⁷

The photograph layered the modern day army, sightseeing en masse, on the empty, monumental space. There was a precedent for this style in the art produced after the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt in 1798 and films and photographs of British and colonial troops in front of Egypt's ancient sights reinforced British presence and control of the country.⁴⁸ The colonial troops drew on the symbolic function of 'military orientalism', the fetishisation of 'Oriental' warfare like riding camels in the desert, to present their safeguarding of Egypt's ancient spaces, on behalf of the Mother Country, a way of justifying their presence in the East rather than at the Western Front.⁴⁹

Despite the commercial networks that grew up around the military camps in Egypt to cater to the troops' needs, the men remained eager to experience tourist life in the cities.⁵⁰ Periods of leave – an afternoon or a whole day – saw the troops utilise the tours available in Egypt to

⁴⁶ Full film descriptions are available on the Colonial Film website

<<http://www.colonialfilm.org.uk/node/1970>> [accessed: 1 June 2015]

⁴⁷ Australian War Memorial (AWM), PS0676, New Zealanders Visit Sphinx and the Pyramids.

⁴⁸ Barrell, p. 120.

⁴⁹ Patrick Porter, *Military Orientalism: Eastern War Through Western Eyes* (London: C. Hurst and Co., 2009), p. 11.

⁵⁰ Brugger, p. 24.

visit the ancient sights. South African Fred English wrote glibly ‘the pyramids and sphinx flabbergasted us, we took a snap so may send it along.’⁵¹ Frank Clark, a New Zealander, sent a letter and photograph home: ‘I have sent you a photo of us at the pyramids which leaves no doubt that I have been there.’⁵² The ‘Kodak Revolution’ provided a further way to capture tourist experience, relying on the dominant trope of soldiers on a camel in front of the pyramids or sphinx, shaping their families’ expectations of Egypt in turn.⁵³ In a letter printed in the *Jamaica Times*, Lance Corporal C. P. Cummins of the BWIR wrote from Alexandria:

I have been to the Museum and seen lots of old carvings and coins thousands of years old. I also saw some Egyptian mummies, over 3000 years old, but they are not so nice to look at I can assure you [...] I have seen the River Nile and the catacombs and I know the place pretty well now.⁵⁴

Cummins’ experience of the selected symbols of antiquity revealed how they represented a knowable version of the city. Maori soldier Rikihana Carkeek ticked off similar sights in Cairo; he ‘went into the base of the Pyramid of Cheops and saw everything down there, all the tombs, etc. then went to see the Sphinx’.⁵⁵ Racial or national divisions did not limit access to these sights, perhaps indicative of the combatant role held by both Maori and West Indian men during their time in Egypt. The ‘ancient history’ agenda proved sufficient for New Zealanders, West Indians and South Africans alike.

The troops were happy to watch and try out some of the simpler, more ‘primitive’ life they had imagined in the East, and its colourful environments. Waleed Hazbun has illustrated the influence of exhibitions on preconceptions of Egypt, as attendees viewed scenes of the East in ‘elaborate dioramas’ – the troops, too, presented their tours of the cities as colourful vistas.⁵⁶ By surveying native quarters the men satisfied their desires to experience the exotic and the ‘cultivation of the simple’, positioning themselves in dialogic position to those they

⁵¹ IWM, Documents 17189, Letters from 2nd Lieutenant Frederick English, 2 March 1916.

⁵² AWMM, MS 98-8, Letters of Frank Clark, 22 June 1915. Fellow New Zealander William Prince also took photographs: ‘The four of us had our photo taken in front of the Sphinx, on camels, with the large pyramid showing in the background’, Prince, 4 January 1916.

⁵³ See Sandy Callister, *The Face of War: New Zealand’s Great War Photography* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008) for discussion of how the troops made use of new photographic technologies.

⁵⁴ *Jamaica Times*, 27 May 1916.

⁵⁵ Carkeek, 2 April 1915.

⁵⁶ Hazbun, p. 4.

saw as beyond the borders of the civilised world.⁵⁷ Edward Dotish described how the South Africans were ‘greatly charmed’ with the ‘quaint scenes’ they encountered in Cairo: a camel bearing a heavy load, the roofless buildings, the mosques and bazaars.⁵⁸ West Indian Llewelyn Charles wrote of how much he enjoyed ‘donkey and camel riding’ in Cairo as part of the ‘simpler’ life lived there.⁵⁹ For Maori Harry Dansey, the exotic and diverse population of Cairo was of utmost interest: ‘it all seems so jumbled up and chaotic but after a time one gets awfully used to it all especially the backstreet crowds.’⁶⁰ For these men, it was if the city had been organised to maximise the tourist experience, on display for their pleasure, which – in the case of the donkey riding – it was. The different languages of the mixed population in Alexandria preoccupied West Indian Lester Sampson, along with Egyptian customs:

I should like to have you out here, to take you out and show you all the sights. You would be delighted I know for the customs are all so strange, especially to hear the people shouting out to you to buy their merchandise of every description. One hears all manner of tongues in Alexandria: Arabic, Maltese, Soudanise, Persian, Italian and French⁶¹

The troops’ fascination with the lives of ‘others’ when on leave in Egypt included the chaos of the cities.⁶² The acquisition of knowledge and ‘worldliness’ was an important function of travel and tourism, a further symbol of having arrived.

Yet both these vivid scenes and the mechanisms of the growing tourist industry were reminders of the city being ‘alive’ and seemed to disrupt the exhilaration and enchantment of the experience, at least for the white New Zealanders and South Africans who wrote more critical accounts of their time in Egypt. Cairo and Alexandria brought together two time frames for the soldiers to compare: the ‘dead’ past and the contemporary present. The means by which the thousands of men accessed the sphinx and pyramids placed a strain on how they experienced the sights. J. M. Cook, the eponymous Thomas’s son, had established an

⁵⁷ Louis Turner and John Ash, *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery* (London: Constable and Robinson Limited, 1975), p. 19.

⁵⁸ Dotish, p. 23.

⁵⁹ *The West Indian*, 13 August 1916.

⁶⁰ Letter from Harry D. B. Dansey.

⁶¹ *Jamaica Times*, 27 May 1916.

⁶² MacCannell, p. 91.

integrated tourist industry in Cairo and Alexandria, based on the firm's control of transport on the Nile, hotels, and hundreds of staff across Egypt, generally recruited from the local population.⁶³ The presence of 'questionable' guides and the huge numbers of tourists filled the envisioned empty space and potentially cheapened the encounter. A guide took South African Captain Miller to see the sphinx and pyramids:

Curiously, I felt disappointed [...] There was an offending note of sordid commercialism and cheap show about the whole thing, which made one both sorry and annoyed [...] Looking towards the great pyramid, there was an unending stream of tourists, mostly soldiers, crawling up the stereotyped tourist route. They looked like a thin stream of ants.⁶⁴

While Miller expected the sphinx of nineteenth-century photographs, the sheer number of tourists removed the possibility of an exclusive encounter with these ancient sights. William Prince wrote about the passages worn 'as slippery as ice by thousands of years of wear' and Stanley Natusch found the narrow interior of the pyramid claustrophobic, worn smooth by millions of feet.⁶⁵ The well-trodden path was a disruption of fantasy and a reminder of one's own activity as tourist, rather than an intrepid explorer, which was less satisfying: suddenly the experience became ordinary and paltry, rather than exhilarating and exotic. New Zealander William White recalled having a cup of tea at the top of the pyramid he climbed, indicating how these sights were being exploited as scenes of commercial gain.⁶⁶ The shortcomings of the local guides were also felt to be unsatisfactory. Miller described the historic riches that one's guide could point out, but that 'unfortunately, your guide cannot speak English', using the incomprehensibility of the East to add to its perceived inferiority.⁶⁷ New Zealander Stanley Natusch labelled the guides in the pyramids in Cairo 'shrieking' and their management of the tour removed any potential for wonder or awe.⁶⁸ Though the soldiers were happy to take advantage of Egypt's existing tourist infrastructure, they were dissatisfied how the business of tourism infringed upon their experiences and how the Egyptian people were seen to exploit their ancient heritage.

⁶³ Hazbun, p. 5.

⁶⁴ Miller, p. 67.

⁶⁵ Prince, 28 December 1915; Natusch, 15 December 1914.

⁶⁶ William White, *An Awfully Big Adventure* ed. by Tolerton, p. 54.

⁶⁷ Miller, p. 34.

⁶⁸ Natusch, 15 December 1914.

Equally, closer engagement with native population on the streets of Cairo and Alexandria revealed how the charming scenes and ‘disorder’ of Egypt could easily slip into overwhelming chaos for the troops.⁶⁹ New Zealander Ernest Newton remarked on the ‘narrow, dirty, stinking, crooked, unpaved streets where the natives swarm like bees and eyed us curiously’ as they drove away from their visit to the tombs.⁷⁰ His compatriot Peter Mackay wrote that ‘the poorer class of natives are very lazy and very dirty. The native quarters of Cairo do hum some.’⁷¹ Robert Chartes complained that ‘I can’t ever say I enjoyed a meal in Cairo, as one would at home. I suppose the colonial distaste for oil in food has much to do with it’, seemingly revealing a self-awareness of the shared experience of nineteenth-century colonisers – ‘colonials’ – and his own position in Egypt.⁷² The troops maintained a distinct superiority over and distance from the native population. Though Gregory has claimed that the First World War ‘disrupted Orientalist cultures of travel that had been developed over the course of the long nineteenth century’ by preventing civilian participation in tourist activity, soldiers replicated these cultures through their time on leave.⁷³ There was both racially driven superciliousness and a form of nostalgia for a past that was inaccessible because of the modern-day population. The conflict between ancient and contemporary Egypt intersected, too, with the status of the troops in Egypt. Joan Beaumont has criticised commentators who have excused the behaviour of the Anzac troops in Egypt, particularly in regards to rioting (discussed below), as part of the boyish frustrations of training in the desert when they expected to be in combat.⁷⁴ Instead she asserts that the racism of the Australian and New Zealand troops needs to be duly recognised. Undeniably discrimination towards the racialised ‘other’ played an important role in their behaviour, as the men constructed a clear identity of self in opposition to the Egyptian ‘natives’ living under British jurisdiction to ensure their

⁶⁹ Hazbun, p. 4.

⁷⁰ AWMM, MS 921, Papers of Ernest Newton.

⁷¹ Mackay, 24 March 1915.

⁷² ATL, MS Papers 7690, Memoir of Robert Chartes, p. 11.

⁷³ Gregory, p. 196.

⁷⁴ Joan Beaumont, ‘Australia’s War’, *Australia’s War, 1914-1918* ed. by Joan Beaumont (New South Wales: Allen and Unwin, 1995), p. 9.

superior colonial status. But to dismiss the frustrations of the men obscures the more complex relations between the two factors. For the New Zealanders in 1914 and early 1915, the diversion to Egypt from the Western Front represented a challenge to their combatant identity, which required other expressions of masculinity. At the same time, the future of Egypt under British jurisdiction was uncertain and needed to be protected by colonial troops who were determining their own position in the colonial hierarchy.⁷⁵ The authoritative patrolling of Cairo during the war by colonial troops, particularly the Anzacs, often took violent, physical form, as demonstrated by Mario Ruiz, which can be traced back to the men's attitudes towards the local population in their communications home.⁷⁶ By subjecting the native population to a form of othering that reinforced the troops' own position as elite, military visitors – able to colonise as well as the British had – the white dominion men attempted to dominate the streets of Cairo and Alexandria.

The men expressed simultaneously their enchantment with the ancient sights and their disgust at the contemporary population. Within the accounts, too, is a sense of opportunity, as the men became worldly travellers during this time on leave. Elite institutions in Egypt offered one advantage to the men disappointed not to be on the frontlines in France, as they 'arrived' into the luxurious social world of a certain class of tourist. R. Hugh Knyvett, an Australian private, argued that the soldier experience was completely different to that of the tourist:

[Egypt] may be a land of fascination to the tourist who drives about in gharries to view its wonders and stays at a European hotel [...] to be there as a soldier, to lie in its vile sand, to swallow its conglomerated stinks, to rub the filth off the seats in the third class, to have under your eyes continually the animated lump of muck that the 'Gyppo' is, to have your eyes filled continually with the vile expressions that the Egyptian conceives as wit, is an experience that makes one so disgusted.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ M. W. Daly, 'The British Occupation, 1882-1922', *The Cambridge History of Egypt, Volume Two: Modern Egypt, from 1517 to the end of the twentieth century* ed. by M. W. Daly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 247.

⁷⁶ Mario M. Ruiz, 'Manly Spectacles and Imperial Soldiers in Wartime Egypt, 1914-19', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 45, 3 (2009), 362.

⁷⁷ R. H. K. Knyvett, *'Over There' with the Australians* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918), p. 67.

Knyvett's frustration with his service in Egypt sits at odds with the many accounts of white dominion soldiers who took full advantage of the facilities on offer to tourists in Alexandria and Cairo. These reveal how the men in khaki enjoyed the class mobility allowed them by their military service and army wages to engage in an elitist, imperialist lifestyle.⁷⁸ Hotels like Shepherd's, founded in Cairo in 1841, had become luxurious destinations for Anglo-Indian civil servants and military personnel, using the Suez Canal, as well as the leisured traveller in the late nineteenth century.⁷⁹



Exterior of Shepherd's Hotel.⁸⁰

Shepherd's dominated social life in Cairo with its own activities, acting as a kind of club for European residents, a 'playground of international aristocracy'.⁸¹ Now though, these hotels and clubs – the 'happy hunting grounds of millionaires', as Martin Briggs of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force described them – were open to all the troops 'obtaining admission by

⁷⁸ Though Cook had arranged affordable passage from London to Alexandria – £20 first class – tours in Egypt were still expensive and drew more wealthy clients. Hazbun, p. 17.

⁷⁹ Brian M. Fagan, *The Rape of the Nile: Tomb Robbers, Tourists and Archaeologists in Egypt* (London: Macdonald and Jane's, 1977); Nina Nelson, *Shepherd's Hotel* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1960), p. 2.

⁸⁰ Library of Congress, Photographs, LC-DIG-matpc-02915, Exterior of Shepherd's Hotel. <<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/mpc2004002247/PP/>> [accessed: 25 August 2016]

⁸¹ Nelson, p. 4.

the simple expedient of donning a khaki uniform. We too have danced to Shepherd's band and have sentimentalised over the Sphinx by moonlight'.⁸² This perception of Egypt as a playground for leisure activities influenced, too, how the troops represented sexual activity in these cities, discussed further below. A *Times* article in February 1915 reported: 'Shepherd's and the Grand Continental Hotel swarm with officers of every rank and every branch in the Imperial service – British, Indian, Colonial and Egyptian', suggesting that non-white troops could similarly access these traditionally European spaces, though this is not recorded in West Indian accounts of the cities.⁸³ Despite the provisions made by the YMCA and Red Cross for the men encamping in Egypt, which were used by many, the soldiers were most eager to write about visiting the grand hotels of European society in Egypt in their letters and diaries.⁸⁴ With the normal tourist 'season' called off because of the war, the troops could fill in the social gaps for the remaining 'Western' citizens; indeed the *Egyptian Gazette* frequently reported how busy the Saturday dinner concerts at the Shepherd's Hotel had become.⁸⁵ Even just having tea on Shepherd's famous palmed terrace or at Groppi's Confectionary represented an affordable point of entry into Cairo's 'society'.⁸⁶ Stanley Natusch was overwhelmed by how he and his mates were treated in Groppi's, 'the tea shop of Cairo'.

All the knobs, knuts, youth and beauty and fashion [...] neither on heaven or earth had I dreamed of cakes like these. A plate and fork are placed in your hand and through a maze of stands heaped to over-flowing are more varieties of cakes, cream puffs, oh and all sorts than would fill twenty Mother Beetons; and those ravishing French maids who hover all about and "What will Monsieur have", and to our poor French and apologies as for the same, these maids make answer "but no Monsieur's accent is perfect" and so we choose our cakes.⁸⁷

The attentions the men were paid in this indulgent setting – recognising their military status, rather than their class – and the luxury they were exposed to were entirely at odds to their

⁸² Martin Briggs, *Through Egypt in War-Time* (London: F. T. Unwin, 1918), p. 2.

⁸³ *The Times*, 4 February 1915.

⁸⁴ The *Egyptian Gazette* recorded in August 1915 that General Maxwell had opened a new club in Cairo, under the joint control of the Australian Red Cross Society and the YMCA; 'Soldiers' New Club at Cairo', *Egyptian Gazette*, 17 August 1915.

⁸⁵ Thomas Cook steamships stopped sailing to Alexandria in 1914 and were taken over for war purposes instead. Australia's Good Name, Behaviour of the Men in Egypt, A Reply to Criticisms', *Egyptian Gazette*, 9 March 1915; *Egyptian Gazette*, 10 July 1915.

⁸⁶ Ernest Newton, a New Zealander, finished up his gharry tour of the sights 'at the Bristol Hotel where we sat down to an enjoyable tea, thus bringing to a close a delightful and instructive trip, the total cost of which was only 7 shillings.' Newton, 22 March 1915.

⁸⁷ Natusch, 14 January 1915.

military routine. Soldiers like Natusch were able to adopt a lifestyle normally affordable to select imperial elites, which fuelled their sense of superiority that had already been established in the Orientalist encounters with the native population.

In these elite spaces, the troops would interact with Egypt's existing European community. By 1907, there were around 140,000 foreign residents in Egypt, from Europe and America, following the 1860s cotton boom and the British occupation of 1882.⁸⁸ Suzanne Brugger has described Anglo-Egyptian society of the time as 'a ruling elite with a position to maintain. It was inevitably highly formal and "proper" and many of its members belonged to that class of administrators who highly value respectability.'⁸⁹ As such, while dominion officers in Cairo were drawn into the existing societal framework, lower ranks were not, despite their ability to access these luxury hotels and tea rooms. While the *Egyptian Gazette* directed its advice towards all colonial troops, especially the Australians and New Zealanders, including calls for the British communities of Cairo and Alexandria to supply them with guides, European society was not so egalitarian.⁹⁰ The *Egyptian Gazette's* sympathetic presentation of the white colonial troops, including a description of how the New Zealanders and Australians had 'become great favourites with the native public generally', belied tensions present in the arrival of the troops, both with the native population and with the European communities, though undoubtedly the presence of such numbers would have a dramatic influence on the city's structure and social dynamics.⁹¹ The Wassir Riots of April and July 1915, a high point of tensions in the urban space, will be explored further below.

The Empire Comes Home? Exploring London

Imagining London in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries created a different vision entirely from that of Cairo or Alexandria. Most immediately, London was vast, with a

⁸⁸ Ehud D. Toledano, 'Social and economic change in the "long nineteenth century"', *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, p. 254.

⁸⁹ Brugger, pp. 59-60.

⁹⁰ 'The Arrival of the Australians – Another Suggestion to the Military Authorities', *Egyptian Gazette*, 10 December 1914.

⁹¹ 'Colonials In Egypt' by Rev. G. M. Mackie of the Scottish Church, Alexandria, *Egyptian Gazette*, 14 July 1915.

population of seven million on war's outbreak.⁹² It was a city of immense power, a centre of governance, economy, monarchy, trade, as well as a destination for tourism and leisure. The metropolis was the centre of the Empire to which the men from the West Indies, New Zealand and South Africa belonged. As Angela Woollacott has written, London was 'the locus of inherited cultural memory, the site of ancestral connections, and the setting of major historical episodes.'⁹³ The multiple meanings of 'arrival' are particularly pertinent in thinking about tourism in London: just embarking for Britain was taken as a marker of success and ambition.⁹⁴ The 'achievement of one's destination' and 'the founding of a reputation' was emphasised by the cultures of imperialism that constructed benevolent, beneficent Britain as the Mother Country to which the men were loyal as a 'cultural home' even if their own homes were much further removed.⁹⁵ Even for those more sceptical about the Empire's relationship with its colonies, the idea of England was woven into their colonial consciousness through education, the popular press and advertisements, even the architecture of their various homelands.⁹⁶ The significance of arriving in London was embedded in the introduction to the *Colonial's Guide to London*, written especially for 'Overseas Visitors, Anzacs, Canadians and all other soldiers of the Empire' and published in 1917:

It is difficult, every year more and more difficult, to reconstruct in the mind's eye the London of our great great grandparents [...] yet it is Old London that the overseas visitor most desires to know and understand. Of course he is interested, too, in the busy life of the town. [...] Mammoth hotels, the great new public buildings, the many theatres and other places of amusement, all have their attraction; but there is no attraction so great to the visitor as that of the ancient historical landmarks. The Tower, the Abbey, Westminster Hall, and St Paul's appeal to the imagination of the peoples of the Dominions as no novelty however brilliant can appeal. For these are theirs and ours, and in the shadow of the Abbey or the White Tower, we are Londoners all.⁹⁷

The relationship that existed between Britain and her colonies meant that its white subjects were visiting where they had *come from* when they came to London, a significant moment of

⁹² Jean-Louis Robert, 'Paris, London, Berlin on the eve of the war', *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin, 1914-1919* ed. by Jay Winter and Jean-Louis Robert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 28.

⁹³ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 4.

⁹⁴ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 4.

⁹⁵ Boehmer, p. 15.

⁹⁶ Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 13.

⁹⁷ A. Staines Manders, *Colonials' Guide to London* (London: Fulton-Manders Publishing, 1916), pp. 17-20.

ancestral connection. Even in the absence of family networks, the connections held between the non-white colonial troops and Britain should not be underestimated. Killingray, Morgan and Hawkins have established how non-white imperial subjects grew up with the knowledge that one of their identities was 'British'.⁹⁸ The long history of colonial subjects travelling to, and settling in, Britain meant that the non-white colonial troops who visited London followed those who had arrived in Britain before them and who had 'laid down a store of experience and memory that would not only serve as a guide and an inspiration for later generations' but also sparked change in the city.⁹⁹ Arriving in London was the pinnacle of achievement for the colonial troops, the ultimate symbol of success and prestige, as they at last reached 'Tipperary', the land of fortune and achievement. Designed to instil in the tourists the historic significance of the sights and help the soldiers to 'know' London, the *Colonial's Guide* presented the significant sights of 'Old London' as the emblems of empire and the past that was shared by the metropolis and her colonies, a form of cultural co-ownership.¹⁰⁰ London excited identification: they were 'Londoners all'.

During the First World War, the thousands of men from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies added to the long legacies of imperial subjects arriving in the metropolis. Most of the nine million soldiers who served from both Britain and the Empire passed through the capital at some point during the war.¹⁰¹ Approximately 60,000 New Zealanders travelled through London, especially following the move to the Western Front in 1916, a huge proportion of those who served.¹⁰² While exact figures are unknown, clearly some hundreds of South Africans and West Indians also visited the city. From July 1916, men of the BWIR

⁹⁸ David Killingray, "'A Good West Indian, A Good African and in short a Good Britisher': Black and British in a Colour-Conscious Empire, 1760-1950", *Ambiguities of Empire: Essays in Honour of Andrew Porter* ed. by Robert Holland and Sarah Stockwell (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 35; *Black Experience and the Empire* ed. by Morgan and Hawkins, p. 3.

⁹⁹ Boehmer, p. 10.

¹⁰⁰ David Gilbert, "'London in all its glory—or how to enjoy London': guidebook representations of imperial London", *Journal of Historical Geography*, 25, (1999), 281; James Curran, "'Bonjoor Paree!' The first AIF in Paris, 1916-1918," *Journal of Australian Studies*, 23 (1999), 22.

¹⁰¹ Catherine Rollet, "The 'other war' II: setbacks in public health", *Capital Cities at War*, p. 474.

¹⁰² Barnes, p. 16.

were transferred to the Western Front for labouring duties.¹⁰³ Further deployments went directly from arrival in Folkestone, England to the Western Front. For the white South African troops, the Union infantry disembarked at Marseilles for service on the Western Front in 1916.¹⁰⁴ Service on the Western Front meant leave could be taken in Paris or the South of France, but London remained the primary destination. The metropolis was easy to access from camps or hospitals in Sussex or Hampshire and, even when based in France, soldiers could leave the front line and catch a train and ‘fast cross-Channel packet, and in a surreal moment be walking the streets of the Imperial capital early the following morning.’¹⁰⁵

The time spent by colonial troops in the capital city was a significant moment in understanding their position in the empire and, particularly for the non-white troops, what their racialization as ‘other’ would mean once in situ in the centre. The arrival of white dominion peoples in the metropolis raised important questions about the status of these colonial subjects, too. Woollacott has outlined how the experiences of white colonials reveals their privilege as white people but also their subordination as colonials¹⁰⁶ While the “‘invisible” normativity’ of whiteness allowed white New Zealanders or South African to travel through the city without being faced with racial discrimination, their colonial status could separate them from the city.¹⁰⁷ Despite the higher position of the white dominions in the racial hierarchy, these people could be ‘tainted’ as ‘less civilised’ by their upbringings on the frontiers of empire rather than at its centre.¹⁰⁸ If Woollacott works on the experience of women, here I place the white New Zealand and South African soldiers in their colonial context and reconsider the ambiguity of their status, in conversation with the non-white representations of Maori and West Indian troops.

¹⁰³ Howe, *Race, War and Nationalism*, p. 95.

¹⁰⁴ Nason, *Springboks on the Somme*, p. 127.

¹⁰⁵ Wright, *Shattered Glory*, p. 207.

¹⁰⁶ Woollacott, ‘The Colonial Flaneuse’, 762-3.

¹⁰⁷ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 14.

¹⁰⁸ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 34.

The consistency of visits to London recorded by the visiting troops suggests that the *Colonial's Guide* and others of a similar nature, like those produced by the YMCA, mapped a knowable London that formed the basis for the tours they made. New Zealander Albert Bousfield remembered how he had 'a good look around' seeing the 'Houses of Parliament, Westminster Abbey, Tower of London, Kings Stables, Buckingham Palace, Waxworks and Zoo.'¹⁰⁹ South African Ellis Newton wrote of how he 'went to see Madame Tussauds wax works, the British Museum, Art Gallery etc. but of course you can't see much in a weekend'.¹¹⁰ Guided tours run by organisations like the New Zealand War Contingent Association were used to maximise time in London as well as to keep 'the men in a healthy and cheerful atmosphere'.¹¹¹ Tours directed the soldiers' attentions away from 'disreputable London' as well as reinforcing the version of London that existed in the peripheral imagination.¹¹² Harry O'Donnell Bourke had 'a lady guide, who pointed out the buildings and places of interest as we went along. It cost us four shillings a head for the trip, and was well worth it.'¹¹³ The men saw London specifically in its historic sights of imperial significance, spaces of pageantry, power, religion and knowledge. Part of New Zealander Alfred Olsson's decision that St Paul's was the most magnificent building he had ever seen, in June 1917, was because it 'contains the remains of so many of England's most famous dead'.¹¹⁴ John Moloney thought Westminster Abbey a 'shrine to the English culture and English customs [that] have been a heritage to the Empire'.¹¹⁵ London was home to histories that included the empire and by accessing these sights the sense of cultural co-ownership promoted by the *Colonials' Guide* became apparent in the men's letters and diaries. As Barnes has reflected, the reinforcement of London as a centre of heritage occurred 'through the [men's] transmission of their experiences back to New Zealand'.¹¹⁶ By mapping and remapping familiar London through the occupation of its space and historic sightseeing, the white dominion soldiers maintained

¹⁰⁹ ATL, MS 2003/71, Letters of Albert Bousfield, 7 May 1916.

¹¹⁰ Letter from Newton.

¹¹¹ *The Times*, 26 September 1916.

¹¹² Barnes, p. 68.

¹¹³ O'Donnell Bourke, 21 September 1917.

¹¹⁴ ATL, MS Papers 7899-2, Letter from Alfred Olsson, 14 June 1917.

¹¹⁵ Diary of John Moloney, n.d.

¹¹⁶ Barnes, p. 69.

the existing links between centre and periphery, and shortened the imagined space between the two, enabling a simultaneous imperial and national identity.

The *Colonial's Guide* did not make explicit that its directions were exclusively for white troops. Though it was addressed to Anzacs and Canadians, Manders wrote in the preface that it would 'be found of considerable value to visitors from other parts of the world.'¹¹⁷ There was, though, a degree of assumption about the invisible 'normativity' of whiteness present in the text. However, the list of soldiers' clubs towards the guide's end included the West Indian Club, which opened membership to those serving in West Indian contingents during the war years.¹¹⁸ While it is difficult to ascertain whether, like the white troops, non-white colonial troops used the *Colonial's Guide* or other similar guidebooks, the existing non-white accounts revealed a similar tourist trail through the city. The brief West Indian accounts of time spent in London emphasised, too, the sense of opportunity at being in London and, further, a sense of gratitude at being able to see the city. This was not because the BWIR men had not seen such a city before – many of them had worked in the United States and seen New York – but instead rested on the strength of imperial rhetoric and associations with England as a 'great mother'.¹¹⁹ Private John Gladstone gave his opinion on the metropolis,

Well, I must say that it is one of the God-blessed spots in this earth, the city of great scenes. Do you not feel that we Jamaicans have got and are still having fine opportunities? We used to sing of Tipperary and Piccadilly. It's a long way to Tipperary but thank God I've reached it.¹²⁰

Reaching the city was indicative of the progress made by Jamaicans; symbolic of the relationship shared between non-white colony and metropolis. Gladstone used Christian language to capture the emotion of arrival in this 'God-blessed' city but he remained aware of

¹¹⁷ Manders, preface.

¹¹⁸ David Clover, 'The West Indian Club Ltd: an early 20th century West Indian interest in London', *Society for Caribbean Studies Annual Conference Papers*, 8 (2007), 4.

¹¹⁹ In describing the arrival of his troops in Folkestone, Alfred Horner wrote of the 'awe-inspiring thought, almost incapable of being understood by the non-colonial, that here at last was England, that this was their first view of that wonderful "Mother-land" of which they had heard and read ever since they had been children, that great mother, whose children they were, whose flag they served under, and whose quarrel they had in loyalty made their own.' Though his position as a white Englishman serving in the colonies, who had internalised the jingoistic language of empire, shaped this description, some suggestion of the link between colony and metropolis is made clear. Horner, pp. 11-12.

¹²⁰ *Jamaica Times*, 26 February 1916.

the continuing distance between colony and dominion, a Jamaican in London rather than a British man come 'home'. Coming to London was a 'fine' opportunity for the West Indian men, not an entitlement, as those white colonial troops might view it by virtue of their family links. His compatriot, Private G. J. Dadd, continued the Christian analogy, calling the city 'an earthly paradise'; visiting St Paul's, Westminster Abbey and the British Museum was an opportunity to see 'the pleasures and beauties of this earth'.¹²¹ The religious imagery attached to London could be linked to Christian missionary movements from Britain in the West Indies; while Andrew Porter has argued that missionaries were among the weakest agents of Britain's cultural imperialism the same was not necessarily true of imperial culture.¹²² We must understand the representations in their context: published in national newspapers, these chosen extracts would incite others to volunteer and receive the same 'opportunities'. The West Indian men admired the same sights of England and Empire but not with the same sense of co-ownership or being part of English culture as the white New Zealanders or South Africans. The reverence shown towards London related to its global status – 'the pleasures and beauties of this earth' – that maintained a sense of being outside it, rather than the belonging presented by the white dominion troops.¹²³

Just as in Egypt, soldiers' clubs and residences were established to enable tourism in London and were frequently reflected upon by the New Zealand and South African men.

Interestingly, none of the West Indian accounts refer to the mechanisms through which they explored London.¹²⁴ Clubs were often nationally defined and funded by individual patrons or organisations like the New Zealand War Contingent Association, taking over large spaces in central and west London, near railway termini.¹²⁵ As well as the middle-class London women

¹²¹ *Jamaica Times*, 25 March 1916. Religious imagery was used in other West Indian letters about time in England. Private Brown wrote from camp in Seaford: 'Here I am in Good Old England, leading a life of Paradise.' *The Daily Gleaner*, 5 January 1916.

¹²² Andrew Porter, *British Protestant missionaries and overseas expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 319.

¹²³ *Jamaica Times*, 25 March 1916.

¹²⁴ *Clover*, 4.

¹²⁵ L. O. H Tripp described how important the actions of the New Zealand War Contingent Associations were: 'Next, perhaps, to establishing and conducting the Soldiers' Club in Russell Square, which was opened on the 1st August 1916, the most important work undertaken by the Association

who staffed these clubs, women from New Zealand, South Africa and Australia travelled to the imperial centre to recreate 'home'.¹²⁶ Felicity Barnes establishes the club environment as 'at once a return to an imagined familial home and a reconfiguration of metropolitan experience, with a didactic purpose. The maternal archetype was set against its obverse, the prostitute.'¹²⁷ It is true that the men appreciated the comforts made available to them during their time in the city. New Zealander Albert Bousfield raved about the Anzac Buffet refreshment rooms, opened near Victoria Station by the Australian Natives' Association to provide free food and shelter for Australasian soldiers while on leave.¹²⁸ 'These rooms are run by Australian ladies and are absolutely free. We go in any time and have as much as we want and never need to pay a penny.'¹²⁹ Captain English, a South African, found the newly established South African Officers' Club on Grosvenor Square 'most useful for renewing old acquaintances.'¹³⁰ New Zealander Norman Coop stayed at the Shakespeare Hut; having arrived into Euston in the early hours of the morning it was one of the few places he could sit by the fire and have a cup of tea. 'See a digger can get a feed here any time of the day or night'.¹³¹ The men's odd arrival times remind us that these were soldiers on leave, rather than just tourists. The troops needed accommodation and sustenance for the brief periods they would spend in the city and the clubs were the most affordable way of doing so. Though frequently used as a base for further exploration, there was little reflection on this by the men beyond their appreciation of the hot food and lodgings. Though, as Barnes states, 'clubs became the physical location and manifestation of New Zealand's home in London', this was

was that of the hospitality committee with its two branches—the visiting and the entertainment sub-committees.' L. O. H Tripp, *The War Effort of New Zealand* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1923), p. 187.

¹²⁶ Melanie Oppenheimer, "Maids of All Work" Women, Voluntary Labour and Australian Red Cross VADs', *Proceedings of the Sixth National Conference of the Australian Society for the Study of Labour History* (1999), University of Wollongong, 149.

¹²⁷ Barnes, p. 61.

¹²⁸ Martina Lipton, 'Tactical Agency in War Work: "Anzac Ada" Reeve, "the Soldiers' Friend", *Popular Entertainment Studies*, 3, 1, (2012), 12.

¹²⁹ Bousfield, 13 May 1916. The cost of provision of this service to the Australian and New Zealand troops meant the institution was facing closure in 1917. Ada Reeve, the star performer, went on tour in Australia and New Zealand to raise money for the Anzac Club and Buffet, raising £14,000. Lipton, 18.

¹³⁰ IWM, Documents 17182, Private Papers of Captain A. A. English, 8 February 1917.

¹³¹ NAMNZ, MSS-038, Diary of Norman Coop, 20 March 1918.

not necessarily how the soldiers' themselves perceived these facilities.¹³² What resonates most strongly in the soldiers' representations was their gratitude for the facilitation of their time on leave. The clubs in London were predominantly represented as functional; there was none of the pleasure and status taken from the hotels and clubs of elite Egyptian society.

While the *Colonials' Guide* fostered a sense of shared history for overseas visitors to London, the guide also created limits on feeling at 'home' in the city for the visiting troops. The guide advised the men not to talk too vigorously about the dominions and to refrain from making comparisons between London and home, challenging a sense of co-ownership. The guide recommended,

To remember always that Great Britain is a country with a very vital and illustrious past – their past, no less than hers – and at the moment matters so enormously that her influence upon the destiny of the civilised world is incalculable. ¹³³

The guide implored the visiting men to surrender, temporarily, their national identity to allow Britain to take precedence during their time in London during the war. This indicated underlying strains between colonial and national identity; the growing independence of the dominions could not be perceived as in competition with British power and sovereignty. Gladstone of the BWIR certainly felt himself a Jamaican in London and was immediately identifiable as such because of his skin colour. For the white troops, who might blend into the city more easily, criticism of London could reveal an expression of national identity and separation from the city's population.¹³⁴ Felicity Barnes mentions soldiers who were dissatisfied with the sights of the city in her study but understands their underlying appreciation of the achievement of arriving in London.¹³⁵ However, in reading the letters of New Zealander Edward Ryburn, his criticism runs deeper than disappointment with historic London and echoes critiques of the British troops by the Anzac forces. On his first visit, he found that the sights 'lose a lot of their romantic interest, I think you could call it, by seeming

¹³² Barnes, p. 60.

¹³³ Manders, p. 168.

¹³⁴ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 163.

¹³⁵ Barnes, p. 26; Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 4.

to fit so naturally into their surroundings.¹³⁶ Similarly, on his second visit in October 1916, though 'it would have been criminal to have missed seeing' Westminster Abbey, he found the space inside claustrophobic and unfulfilling.¹³⁷ Going to Madame Tussauds later in the month, he found it 'quite a fraud' in its inauthentic representation of Britain's illustrious history.¹³⁸ Disillusioned with war and far from home, the capital's sights did not fulfil his expectations.

When Ryburn found New Zealand in London, his experience was represented as more satisfying. In October 1916, he went to the museums in South Kensington and asked a policeman for directions to any Australasian exhibits:

Seemed they didn't go in for stuffed animals etc. and he directed us to the Imperial Institute not far away. I wanted to see a bit of N.Z. We found the Institute and found there were exhibits from all the different colonies. Made our way to Australasia and found that the N.Z. exhibit was humiliatingly small. However, there was any amount of interest in what was there and we filled in the morning.¹³⁹

Coming to the exhibition allowed him to find New Zealand and despite being upset by 'the humiliating small' place his homeland held in the Institute, he was able to spend a whole morning there. Being able to sightsee in London was small compensation for the continuing hardships of military service, an imminent return to the front and the absence of family. The city could not be a direct substitute for 'home' life, despite the efforts of guides and clubs. Though the museums had featured on official maps and tours, Ryburn and his friends found elements of their national identity surfacing in their exploration of the city. The limits of 'the simultaneity of multiple identities' were tested during his time sightseeing; rather than being able to hold on to being both British and New Zealand, Ryburn's home nationality overtook how he responded to London.¹⁴⁰ By understanding the importance of nationality in experience of the city, the homogenising whiteness of the dominion troops is disrupted and we can recognise the ambiguity of their reactions to London.

¹³⁶ Ryburn, 21 June 1916.

¹³⁷ Ryburn, 5 October 1916.

¹³⁸ Ryburn, 28 October 1916.

¹³⁹ Ryburn, 28 October 1916.

¹⁴⁰ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 10.

Touring London beyond the historic sights in the west of the city further revealed the conflict for the white colonial soldiers between feeling metropolitan in the metropolis and having their difference from the city reinforced. The geographic binary of West and East in London 'increasingly took on imperial and racial dimensions, as the two parts of London imaginatively doubled for England and its Empire.'¹⁴¹ Where the West End was a site of national monuments, imperial spectacles, modernity and urban developments that overwhelmed the imperial visitors – the underground named 'the limit in wonders' by Harry Hall – London's East End was a colonial periphery in which the white soldiers could adopt a metropolitan superiority.¹⁴² The docks and railways of the East End saw successions of immigrants: Jewish people fleeing the pogroms of Eastern Europe in the 1880s and early 1900s; Chinese immigrants; seamen and lascars.¹⁴³ Areas like Petticoat Lane or Chinatown proved to be of 'exotic' interest with their 'foreign' populations. These were also notorious slum areas – overcrowded, impoverished, with poor sanitation – but the maritime connection made the area 'the most cosmopolitan district of the most cosmopolitan city in Britain.'¹⁴⁴ The *Colonial's Guide* described how 'knots of men in neat blue suits and smoking aromatic cigars stand in the doorways or about the street corners talking in strange languages – these are the Chinese of Chinatown.'¹⁴⁵ Pennyfields, too, had its 'Oriental colony'.¹⁴⁶ By visiting these areas, white dominion soldiers could survey London's 'otherness', turning an imperial

¹⁴¹ Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 26.

¹⁴² AWMM, MS 2002-72, Diary of Harry Hall, 19 August 1916; Woollacott's writing about the colonial pilgrimages 'home' from Australia has revealed how these were linked to ideas of modernity evidenced in the 'rapidly expanding trading, entertainment, educational, religious, military, and administrative connections among British colonies and dominions, and especially between them and the metropole.' Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 8. Richard Dennis points to new developments in this period like railway stations, department stores, office blocks, public parks, music halls and cinemas in 'Modern London', *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain Volume III 1840-1950* ed. by Martin Daunton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 99.

¹⁴³ Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, p. 26; Rozina Visram, *Ayabs, Lascars and Princes: The Story of Indians in Britain 1700-1947* (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 1986), p. 40.

¹⁴⁴ John Seed, 'Limehouse Blues: Looking for 'Chinatown' in the London Docks, 1900-40', *History Workshop Journal*, 62 (2006), 59.

¹⁴⁵ Manders, p. 77.

¹⁴⁶ Manders, p. 77.

gaze back on the centre.¹⁴⁷ New Zealander Egbert Dredge ‘went down Petticoat Lane and round Whitechapel most of morning and had great deal of fun. Almost foreign quarters’ and his compatriot John McWales was similarly ‘very much amused’ by Petticoat Lane.¹⁴⁸ Harry O’Donnell Bourke went further: ‘Bert, Dean and I took a bus to Petticoat Lane and had a look round there. This place is an eye-opener for a colonial, and the people are mostly Jews.’¹⁴⁹ In these areas of Eastern ‘amusement’, these New Zealanders certainly did assume a metropolitan gaze, beguiled by the ethnic diversity. The identification of ‘foreignness’ within London, in areas where working-class Londoners lived alongside these more recent immigrants, rendered the city ‘other’ to these colonials. By observing ‘other’ elements of London, the city was critiqued by the dominion troops, another way to reassert their national identity and separate themselves from the metropolitan population.

Feelings of ‘home’ in London rested upon the soldiers’ experiences but, also, on how the city itself received them. Often, reports of troops in London emphasized how temporary the presence of the visiting soldiers was by illustrating their difference from London’s population. Whiteness did not make all the New Zealand or South African soldiers visibly separate but their distinctive uniforms certainly emphasised their difference.¹⁵⁰ Though the men felt like tourists and had forgotten the war, dress was a visible marker of soldiering identity. Photographs of New Zealand soldiers marching through London’s streets demonstrated the spectacle created by their presence in their ‘lemon-squeezer’ hats.

¹⁴⁷ Barnes, p. 31, p. 2.

¹⁴⁸ AWMM, MS 99-22, Diary of Egbert Dredge, 27 April 1917; AWMM, MS 2002-97, Diary of John McWales, 26 June 1918.

¹⁴⁹ O’Donnell Bourke, 23 September 1917.

¹⁵⁰ Barnes, p. 38.



New Zealand troops, led by an army band, marching through a London street after the First World War.¹⁵¹

Similarly, newspaper articles like ‘A Pageant of War’ in *The Times* described crowds watching detachments from the British Empire parade:

The Australian and New Zealand soldiers, finely built men with alert bronzed faces, swung along cheerfully in the rain, and the South Africans were an equally inspiring body. A company from the West Indian contingent, which included many coloured men, got a specially hearty cheer.¹⁵²

There was a form of mutual exchange: the visual novelty of the colonial troops for the sights of the city. As New Zealander John Maguire put it, London ‘was wanting to see us and we were wanting to see her.’¹⁵³ An American magazine similarly outlined London’s encounter with the different ethnic and national groups of the imperial forces:

In the Strand any day there may be seen the Canadian and Australian, the Maori, the South African, sauntering about seeing the sights, either back from France on leave, or perhaps just in from over the world and about to

¹⁵¹ World War I New Zealand troops marching in London. Royal New Zealand Returned and Services’ Association: New Zealand official negatives, World War 1914-1918. Ref: 1/2-013808-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <<http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22813516>> [accessed: 20 August 2016]

¹⁵² ‘A Pageant of War’, *The Times*, 10 November 1915.

¹⁵³ Memoir of John Maguire, n.d.

go across the Channel. Now and again, there is an ebony face under the cap of the King's uniform - a soldier from the West Indies, while often there are Indians.¹⁵⁴

The newsworthy presence of the colonials troops 'just in from over the world' enforced their presentation as an imported phenomenon for the war's duration. There were degrees of 'otherness' within these descriptions of the visitors, which separated the 'colonials' into a hierarchy of empire. The white dominion troops appeared first, though the Maoris were included with them, before the non-white men from the West Indies and India: national and ethnic stereotypes were deployed in describing all of these representatives of empire. The inclusion of white colonial troops as one group among many who had come to assist the Mother Country was a further reminder of their distinction from London's population. In 'The Tall New Zealanders', in the *Times* in January 1917, the author commented on 'these New Zealanders, whose complexions are as bright as the red in their hats.'¹⁵⁵ The New Zealanders' height and ruddiness were part of their constructed masculinity as pioneer men, different from the British population, red rather than white. The soldiers themselves reflected on how the London population perceived them as recognisably different. Charles Saunders wrote that,

We were very conscious with our slouch hats in the streets, and little boys used to gape at us quite a lot. We had "New Zealand" in white on a crimson ribbon on both arms just below the shoulders, and one little paper boy looked hard at it and slowly and laboriously spelled it out, looked into my face, then said to his mate "New Zealand!! And cor blimey e's white". I guess he thought we were all Maoris in NZ.¹⁵⁶

New Zealanders might have 'known' the city in some form, but London itself made them conscious that this was not their home. The press representation of these grouped colonial troops arriving as visitors used physical demarcations of difference to remind the troops that they were a transitory part of the city's population.

¹⁵⁴ 'What the Empire had done', *Everyman*, November 1916.

¹⁵⁵ 'The Tall New Zealanders', *The Times*, 29 January 1917.

¹⁵⁶ IWM, Documents 12000, Diary of Charles Saunders, p. 8.

(Racialising) Sex in the City

This section opens up interactions with women for the first time to think about sex as a part of leave. I draw together the men's experiences in Egypt and London through a more thematic framework that uses sexuality as a category of analysis. Being on leave, temporarily outside the bounds of army jurisdiction, with money to spend, was an opportunity for the troops to have sexual encounters, but these were dependent both on the race of the men and on the social and racial status of the women in each of the cities. The representations of sex on leave that appeared in letters and diaries were filtered, because of the potential familial audience, but also to determine the men's self-reflective 'respectability' in this context. It should be noted that the sexual experiences of black troops from the West Indies and South Africa are not captured in the sources analysed. Glenford Howe notes just one oral history where West Indian soldiers in Egypt broke barracks to look for women, even if it meant catching disease, revealing how cloistered the men could be.¹⁵⁷ Further testimonies of sexual experience on leave are absent.¹⁵⁸ White experiences from South Africans and New Zealanders are most forthcoming in describing sexuality and vice; Rikihana Carkeek's diary gives us a Maori perspective.

Sex was an expected part of leave during war, in both the Egyptian cities and in London, particularly through prostitution. Within the British military, there was a strong belief that army morale was dependent on sexual activity: as only a small proportion of enlisted men were married, prostitution was an acceptable alternative.¹⁵⁹ Being on leave might be the troops' last opportunity to engage in sexual activity, framed only in heterosexual terms, before they were killed in battle. The precariousness of their lives made these encounters both a reward for survival and a 'refuge' from death.¹⁶⁰ Army officials expected the men to have sex when they were on leave, but this had to be managed to maintain troop health: about 40,000

¹⁵⁷ Howe, *Race, War and Nationalism*, p. 147.

¹⁵⁸ Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (London: Psychology Press, 2003), p. 151.

¹⁵⁹ Clare Makepeace, 'Male Heterosexuality and Prostitution During the Great War', *Cultural and Social History*, 9, 1 (2012), 67.

¹⁶⁰ Makepeace, 'Male Heterosexuality', 67.

cases of venereal disease (VD) were treated during the war.¹⁶¹ Mark Harrison has explored attempts to control the problem of VD including the ‘purification’ of Alexandria and Cairo from the summer of 1916, and the provision of prophylaxis.¹⁶² New Zealander Eric Hames reflected after the war on his shock at being issued with contraceptives and antiseptic ointments before leave in London. ‘The great majority of us I am sure had never heard of such a practice, being unsophisticated in an unsophisticated era, and we received our initiation with a sort of wild incredulity.’¹⁶³ Kits preventing venereal disease were not provided to non-white troops: the colonisers’ chosen method of prevention was limiting their mobility, indicating ‘a modicum of personal freedom’ offered to the white dominion troops in their management of sexual encounters.¹⁶⁴

The conception of sex in the East depended on rhetoric that Egypt was a land of both ‘plague and pestilence’ and ‘vice and sensuality’, as indicated by the campaign for ‘purification’ in Cairo and Alexandria in 1916, with restrictions on hours of opening, alcohol sales and brothels.¹⁶⁵ The combination of the ‘tropical climate’, associations with the ‘white slave trade’ and the long-term tolerance of both female and male sex workers in Egypt, who were also perceived to be especially diseased, evidenced its ‘moral and physical decay’, drawing on rhetorics of Victorian purity campaigns.¹⁶⁶ There were over the 3,000 licensed sex workers in Cairo during the war, the majority racially different to the colonial troops.¹⁶⁷ The growing trade of alcohol, narcotics and prostitution in Egypt was part of the new commercial networks that resulted from the arrival of colonial soldiers, particularly the Anzacs who were

¹⁶¹ Susan R. Grayzel, ‘Mothers, Mairaines, and Prostitutes: Morale and Morality in First World War France’, *The International History Review*, 19, 1, (1997); Susan Brownmiller, *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape* (New York: Open Road Media, 2013); T. J. Mitchell and G M Smith, *History of the Great War based on official documents. Medical Services: Casualties and Medical Statistics of War* (1931), p. 285.

¹⁶² Mark Harrison, ‘The British Army and the Problem of Venereal Disease in France and Egypt during the First World War’, *Medical History*, 39 (1995), 151.

¹⁶³ Hames, p. 19.

¹⁶⁴ Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics*, p. 151.

¹⁶⁵ Harrison, ‘Venereal Disease’, 149.

¹⁶⁶ Harrison, ‘Venereal Disease’, 149. As LaVerne Kuhnke has described, ‘preoccupation with the alien and exotic has continued to sustain the common notion of disease as an invasive foreign element.’ Certainly Egypt’s ‘foreignness’ contributed to its representation as diseased. LaVerne Kuhnke, *Lives at Risk: public health in nineteenth century Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p. 1.

¹⁶⁷ Harrison, ‘Venereal Disease’, 152.

on a much higher rate of pay.¹⁶⁸ For the young and often unmarried men of the dominions, there were ‘opportunities for unrestricted access to alcohol and sex unequalled at home.’¹⁶⁹ The representation of prostitution in Egypt was part of discourse about the ‘unsafe Orient’, which positioned its inhabitants at odds to the ‘civilised’ society of Western Europe and the white dominions.¹⁷⁰

In descriptions of sex in Cairo and Alexandria, the troops employed a vocabulary of ‘disgust’ to discuss the ‘vice’ and ‘immorality’ they perceived, including an element of suspicion about the racially ‘other’ Egyptian women. This built on their representations of interactions with ‘natives’ with the added factor of misogyny. Peter Mackay recorded that Cairo ‘is reeking with immorality [...] To the simple New Zealander it is an eye opener.’¹⁷¹ Cairo’s red light district, the Wassir, was a major landmark for the visiting troops. William Dundon wrote, ‘vice is open there and ~~prostitutes~~ [sic] *demi monde* flourish in an amazing way’, attempting to sanitize his experience to his family with euphemism.¹⁷² Some of Captain Miller’s South African men visited one of the show places in Alexandria: ‘They went, they saw, and they fled. Disgusting is a mild word to describe what they saw. It was of such a kind they would baffle the most depraved ingenuity of a Western mind.’¹⁷³ Further still was the offer of homosexuality in Egypt. One of the New Zealand veterans interviewed by Jane Tolerton recalled his disgust when Egyptian traders approached the men with young boys for their sexual pleasure, further condemning the East as a site of unrivalled ‘perversion’.¹⁷⁴ The sexual encounters in the men’s representation were firmly contained in heteronormative boundaries. In Cairo, the men gave more detailed descriptions of sex workers, as part of their Orientalised envisioning of

¹⁶⁸ Ruiz, 357.

¹⁶⁹ Antje Kampf, ‘Controlling Male Sexuality: Combating Venereal Disease in the New Zealand Military during Two World Wars’, *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 17, 2 (2008), 238-39.

¹⁷⁰ Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics*, p. 155.

¹⁷¹ Mackay, 26 December 1916.

¹⁷² NAMNZ, 1986.1644, Diary of William Dundon, 3 April 1915.

¹⁷³ Miller, p. 28.

¹⁷⁴ Martin Brooke told Tolerton, ‘Nobody would go and do that. None of the troops would have done anything like that in their life. They used to talk about it, but nobody believed it.’ *An Awfully Big Adventure* ed. by Tolerton, p. 55.

Egypt and its inhabitants. James ‘Starkie’ Stark reflected how the war economy fuelled the brothels in Cairo, presenting the women who worked in them as harsh and manipulative:

They had a miraculous knowledge of the paydays in the different divisions of the thousands whose khaki river was stemmed and swirling at Zeitoun. When the Australians, in their cocked hats, came in with their pockets great with pisatres, a shout of ‘Come on Australia, NZ no good!’ tossed like a laughing ribbon from one to another of the balconied houses. When the New Zealanders were paid, the impotency of Australians was shrieked from the Wazza rooftops.¹⁷⁵

Despite begrudging admiration for the business acumen of these women, Starkie recorded them as unappealing and devious in their discordant shrieking, a retrospective distancing at play. He went on to describe their bodies, ‘their cheeks raddled, their youth used up and done’ ‘orange, blue and scarlet shawls tossing back from their naked breasts, cried, “Very nice! Very sweet! Only half-pisatre!”’¹⁷⁶ The ‘blatant’ and ‘cheap’ way the women presented themselves as available in Starkie’s description destroyed any sense of feminine mystique and reduced the troops’ encounters with them to transactional. Their physical appearance was a visible indication of their ‘wickedness’, using up their beauty and youth through their ‘immoral’ profession, again employing the language of Victorian purity campaigns to describe the women. There was both racism and misogyny at play here: not only were the women condemned for their ‘iniquitous’ behaviour but they were also unattractive because of their racial difference. There was no desire expressed or felt for them. The intentional exploration of the side shows and red light districts of Cairo and Alexandria saw a deliberate confrontation of ‘iniquity’ as a central part of tourist experience, that presented the men as morally superior onlookers: the men who actually visited the brothels were either silent or lying.

The troops were willing to acknowledge the ‘bad’ behaviour of their fellow men, if not their own misbehaviour, contributing to a vision of the Egyptian cities as a playground for

¹⁷⁵ Robin Hyde, *Passport to Hell: the story of James Douglas Stark, bomber, Fifth Reinforcement, New Zealand Expeditionary Forces* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986), p. 71.

¹⁷⁶ Hyde, p. 71.

permissiveness, as well as for millionaires.¹⁷⁷ As Edward Buley recorded at the time, 'the men certainly behaved as no soldiers had ever behaved before'.¹⁷⁸ Moloney's account continued,

One has to see the Wassir to believe such things can be seen. Our role was that of tourists, and I must say, truthfully, that we were in no way tempted by the things we saw. Many soldiers have paid the price and now linger behind the wire. Who can blame them? Tomorrow they may be sent to the Peninsula and a soldier's grave. Why not make the most of the shining hour.¹⁷⁹

Sexual adventure, or misadventure in Egypt, had consequences, which could be symbolic of wider problems with army discipline: 6,000 men from the AIF had been treated for VD by February 1916.¹⁸⁰ Though Moloney attempted to empathise with his compatriots' desire to have sex before they were sent to the frontline at Gallipoli, the costs of their behaviour reinforced his impression of the indescribable sights of Cairo. Those 'behind the wire' with VD were segregated from their fellow men: explicitly demarking them as transgressive and unfit for duty. They were also prevented from going on leave, both a form of punishment and to stop the disease being spread through further infection, as well as acting as a deterrent to the other troops. Their active military masculinity was temporarily curtailed until they were fit to serve nation and empire once more.

Sexual misadventure also led to the rioting of troops, mostly Anzac, in the Wassir area of Cairo.¹⁸¹ Excused by some supporters of the martial law regime as a way of maintaining public health through the purging of diseased brothels, the lack of military control over the soldiers who rioted was a destabilising influence on power and order in Egypt as an imperial protectorate.¹⁸² The riots were linked to the racist 'disgust' through which the men viewed the native population. Both their words and behaviour acted as an expression of white superiority and masculinity in the face of being stationed in a country viewed as feminine, diseased and, perhaps, not worth protecting when there was 'better' work being done on the Western

¹⁷⁷ Brugger, p. 50.

¹⁷⁸ E. C. Buley, *Glorious Deeds of the Australasians in the Great War* (London: 1915), p. 46.

¹⁷⁹ Moloney, 21 November 1915.

¹⁸⁰ Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics*, p. 155.

¹⁸¹ Ruiz, 358.

¹⁸² Ruiz, 359.

Front.¹⁸³ Again the soldiers' distanced themselves from association with the riots, condemning those who did. William Dundon described the Good Friday riot in April 1915. 'The disorder continued for about four hours and was regrettable in the extreme. Whatever may have been the cause, it was the worst thing that could have happened and those of our troops who took any part in it here have quite disgraced themselves.'¹⁸⁴ Harry Hall was brief: 'riots in the Wazza last night - one place fired - motorcar burnt and windows smashed by drunken Australians.'¹⁸⁵ The soldiers adopted a familiar superiority in their reports of sex and rioting, where they positioned themselves as detached observers, sometimes curious, sometimes revolted by the behaviour that these exotic cities provoked, even from their own men. This was an ugly act of racist behaviour as the soldiers from New Zealand and Australia enacted cruelty and violence against the non-white and non-European population of Egypt.¹⁸⁶ The historical records of these events, from official Australian historian Charles Bean in the 1920s to later works by historians including Bill Gammage in the 1970s, have frequently sanitised and excused these actions as 'endearing larrikinism' on the part of the Anzac forces.¹⁸⁷ Certainly, the permissive sexuality and 'vice' of the Egyptian 'playground' contributed to the men's sense of entitlement to enjoy the delights of what they perceived as a racially inferior and 'immoral' country.¹⁸⁸ However, these understandings and their subsequent actions were built upon the racial models of colonialism and the men's enduring belief in their own superiority and freedom to control those who were inferior.

The vocabulary of repugnance in descriptions of sex in Cairo and Alexandria were echoed in the men's descriptions of sex in London, particularly in regards to prostitution, though without the 'Eastern' emphasis. During the nineteenth century, provincial sex workers were lured to the centre of Britain, hoping for higher wages and less police harassment on the

¹⁸³ Beaumont, 'Australia's War', p. 9.

¹⁸⁴ Dundon, 3 April 1915.

¹⁸⁵ Hall, 26 December 1915.

¹⁸⁶ Joan Beaumont, *Broken Nation: Australians in the Great War* (New South Wales: Allen and Unwin, 2013), p. 61.

¹⁸⁷ Beaumont, *Broken Nation*, p. 62.

¹⁸⁸ Ann Laura Stoler, 'Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31, 1 (1989), 139.

metropolis' streets, particularly in the west of the city where they could attract a better class of customer.¹⁸⁹ There was less racialised paranoia around the troops' use of brothels than in Egypt, because of the majority white population of the metropolis, though white women's racial mixing with non-white men still raised concerns. Prostitution had been systematically repressed in almost every major British city with the introduction of the Contagious Diseases Acts.¹⁹⁰ Nonetheless, between November 1917 and February 1918, as one example, 2.77 per cent of the 4,680 soldiers from New Zealand who visited London contracted VD.¹⁹¹ Like descriptions of the Egyptian brothels, the men were vague about paying for sex in London: Herbert Tuck described courting women in England as a bad idea – girls 'cost too much money for one thing' – and in one letter refers to 'English tarts', due to his lack of success.¹⁹² The cost of courting could refer to the phenomenon of 'treating' where 'amateurs' might spend the evening with men who offered them presents or money, though they would not necessarily consider themselves sex workers.¹⁹³ When the men wrote with disgusted fascination about the women on London's streets, they revealed more than self-preservation. Herbert Hart observed that 'London is very crowded and very, very wicked. I have never seen so many "Totties" before, well dressed and looking radiant'.¹⁹⁴ Francis Healey's dislike of London arose from 'the amount of the prostitution on the streets both day and night'.¹⁹⁵ The men's writing about sex work created an elite and patriarchal gaze turned back on the metropolis, which mirrored their reflections on the East End and again served to distance themselves from the city.¹⁹⁶ They were 'outside' of this 'wickedness' rather than complicit insiders in metropolitan 'vice'.

¹⁸⁹ Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, p. 22.

¹⁹⁰ Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, p. 211.

¹⁹¹ Wright, *Shattered Glory*, p. 210.

¹⁹² IWM, Documents 19697, Letters of Herbert Tuck, 13 September 1917

¹⁹³ Wollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, p. 326. The phenomenon of 'khaki fever' which drew young women into urban spaces during the war, therefore making them 'available' to the visiting troops will be examined in Chapter Five.

¹⁹⁴ *The Devil's Own War: The First World War Diary of Brigadier-General Herbert Hart* ed. by John Crawford (Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2008), 11 November 1916.

¹⁹⁵ AWMM, MS 2006-59, Diary of Francis Healey, 5 July 1917.

¹⁹⁶ *New Zealand at the Front* (1917), p. 48

Explicit references to flirtations and romantic encounters with women in London were integrated into other tourist experience. The men combined traditional tourist activity like going to the theatre with courtship. Herbert Tuck brought a 'nice little girl' with him to the theatre, 'a different one from last night. Oh I can tell you, I am getting no better fast.'¹⁹⁷ Though theatres had associations with sex work, they were part of the official sightseeing agenda.¹⁹⁸ The representation of sex in London could become more domesticated, as exemplified in New Zealander John A. Lee's novel, *Civilian into Soldier* (1937), which drew on his own experience in the NZEF.¹⁹⁹ Lee's narrator associated sex on leave in London with the domestic and home. Though he had refused to visit brothels in Egypt and France, something specific about the English women allowed a relationship with his home life and home self to be maintained and so he felt able to engage in sexual activity.

Their presence, their attractiveness, their Anglo-Saxon characteristics, their pure English, catered for a something in the soldier that had been stifled, a something for which the sight and sound of a French slattern was a poor substitute. There was a touch of home, of New Zealand, about the Club in the heart of Empire, and reactions of a subtle nature were evoked.²⁰⁰

The 'reactions of a subtle nature' indicated that this was not simply about sexual release. Instead the soldiers experienced something that had been 'stifled' since they had left home: genuine affection, comfort, even romance. There was a different vocabulary around sexual pleasure and romantic love in London than in descriptions of Egyptian women. While the misogyny of critiques of women was similar, there something much more complex about these responses. The men seem subconsciously restricted in their desire for Egyptian women and engaged with them only on the surface, to critique and condemn, where the women in London provoked a deeper emotional reaction. While this could be read as the exemplification of what Felicity Barnes' has called 'domesticated sex in the city', deconstructing the passage reveals once again the ambiguity of 'home' within the setting of

¹⁹⁷ Tuck, 9 January 1917.

¹⁹⁸ Tracy C. Davis, *Actresses as Working Women: their social identity in Victorian Culture* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 80.

¹⁹⁹ John A. Lee, *Civilian into Soldier* (London: T. W. Laurie, 1937).

²⁰⁰ Lee, *Civilian into Soldier*, p. 255.

London.²⁰¹ The women's Englishness had a specific appeal to this New Zealand soldier, but there was also the familiarity of New Zealand within this setting that fuelled the attraction. The overlap of dominion and metropolitan cultures and populations meant that the men could reminisce about a home far away in the arms of an English woman, rather than thinking they were actually at home in London. The conflicting emotions of New Zealand soldiers engaged in sexual relations in London became apparent as they grappled not only with their desires and repulsions but their identity as men both at home and abroad in the strange but familiar city.

Race complicated how non-white men experienced sex in London. Philippa Levine has addressed the policing of Indian soldiers in Brighton to highlight how racialization limited the access troops had to spaces in the imperial centre. Yet the Maori soldier Rikihana Carkeek wrote about going to Hyde Park one evening 'to meet a lady friend' – the night outing revealed his freedom in the city to engage with women.²⁰² Like theatres, cinemas and music halls, parks had multiple, overlapping mappings that enabled them to be presented as respectable while their public-ness could allow them to hide illicitness, particularly at night and in the dark.²⁰³ From his London base, Carkeek was relatively free to combine his leisure and pleasure activities. His freedom in London indicated the complexity and variation in the restrictions on the movements of troops of colour and how they mixed with English women. The absence of West Indian accounts about engaging with women as part of their sightseeing experience in London may relate more to the lack of personal source material; as established, their sexual agency and desires were acknowledged in other spaces within the imperial centre when at Seaford, Sussex.²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ Barnes, p. 64.

²⁰² Carkeek, 3 August 1916.

²⁰³ See Philippa Levine, "'Walking the Streets in A Way No Decent Woman Should': Woman Police in World War One", *Journal of Modern History*, 66 (1994) for a description of how these public spaces were patrolled by the new female police force to uphold moral standing.

²⁰⁴ Glenford D. Howe, 'Military-Civilian Intercourse, Prostitution and Venereal Disease among Black West Indian Soldiers during World War I', *The Journal of Caribbean History*, 31 (1997), 90.

Tourism during war was never the sole function of enlistment or the main preoccupation of the troops from the West Indies, New Zealand and South Africa. However, the opportunity to engage in tourist activity was not one to be passed up and was almost entirely inclusive in its enactment, barring the black South African labourers. Tourism as a form of encounter was deeply significant as a symbol of 'arrival', whether in the Egyptian cities of heritage and play, or in London, the centre of the Mother Country. There was prestige associated with the worldliness of the traveller and the war enabled these men to see sights they had previously only imagined. In Cairo and Alexandria, the existing tourist infrastructure provided the framework for encounter as the ancient history of Egypt dominated the men's agenda, as they searched for an enchanting ancientness familiar from photography and fiction. Yet there was tension for the white dominion troops who felt the pressure of their status in Cairo: colonials rather than colonisers, in East rather than West, training rather than fighting but still defending the Empire. These strains intersected with the conflict between ancient and modern and being tourists rather than travellers. These ambiguities manifested in the white colonials' representations, not only in their engagement with elite society where possible, but how they actively distanced themselves from the native population. For the black West Indian men, none of the same critique is offered.

Being on leave raised questions for the men about themselves and their accounts reveal this process of self-determination as they articulated their identities. In London, the sense of belonging and home that could be expected of the imperial metropolis competed with the national and racial identities of the men, and how the city viewed them. The West Indian men envisaged their arrival in London almost like a pilgrimage, revealing the strong ties of empire and the 'blessings' offered by service during the war. Yet they were conscious of their continuing national identities, as they articulated what it was like to be Jamaican in London, rather than thinking themselves part of London's population. For the white dominion troops, there seemed greater investment in the idea of London as a locus of shared heritage and culture, which inspired expectations of the city forming a kind of 'home'. While they greatly

enjoyed their time in the city, their accounts revealed more ambiguity about their status, as both colonial and white, as they explicitly critiqued the capital in a way that asserted the primacy of their nationality.

Though reports of London shared elements of the fascination and disgust with Egypt, the very different conceptions of the cities were sharply demonstrated when the men wrote about sex. In London, encounters with women were integrated with broader tourist activity and were alluded to more readily in the letters from the white dominion troops. In Egypt, no acknowledgement of the men's own sexual activity was made, though it certainly occurred; the East was too 'dangerous' and 'transgressive', proven in the men's descriptions of the 'vice' on display. The fears of racial mixing in Egypt certainly played a role in these accounts; the absence of representations of black troops engaging in sexual activity in either destination indicates too how anxiety around miscegenation shaped soldiers' narratives of encounters. Rikihana Carkeek's experience in London offers an interesting counter point though: did the hierarchy of colonial races, as demonstrated in the newspaper articles about the visiting colonial troops, or the more racially equal arrangements of the New Zealand Army offer him more status and therefore more freedom? The role of race in encounters with women will be more fully investigated in Chapter Five as the analysis moves behind the lines to examine relations between the troops and civilians.

Section Three

Race and Gender: Encounters with Women

Chapter Five

Behind the Lines: Encounters With Civilians

During his service on the Western Front, New Zealander Bert Stokes took part in the capture of Caudry by the 37th Division on 10 October 1918. The Germans had occupied the provincial town in the North of France since the Battle of Le Cateau on 26 August 1914. Stokes was one of the first men to encounter the newly liberated civilian population – older men, women and children – whom the fighting had left behind, but who were still entangled in the conflict.

The little children ran alongside us and almost cried for joy. The old men and women were all glad to see us and to know that their town has not suffered the fate of so many others.¹

Stokes' account was a reminder of the spatial proximity between military and civilian life and how they overlapped. This was not only through occupation: military camps were often close to villages and towns and troops were billeted in civilian households. Where Chapter Four has shown how the men could move into civilian spaces by virtue of periods of leave, this chapter situates encounters with civilians, specifically women and children, closer to militarized zones, in the cafes and estaminets visited by the men and even in their places of work. Encounters with women are further drawn into the analysis, beyond the role of sexual encounters as a designated 'leave' activity. How would the men represent encounters with civilians beyond the structures of the tourist narrative?

Contact with civilians allowed the men to perform roles that they had left behind: as sons, lovers or husbands, as fathers and brothers. These were often more domestic contact zones, in homes where the men were billeted, in family-run cafes or in small villages. As Michael Roper's work has explored, the young civilian soldiers depended on family ties, particularly

¹ IWM, Documents 20675, Memoir of Bert Stokes, 11 October 1918.

with their mothers, to sustain them in the face of violence and trauma.² Soldiers' veneration of their mothers in letters and diaries – and the changing nature of writing when addressed to 'Mother' – revealed the emotional significance of the maternal relationship for the sons of war.³ Yet war put these ties under stress, in the trauma experienced and in sustaining these relationships across vast distances, particularly for the colonial troops.⁴ While Roper illustrates how the men stood in as mothers for each other – sewing buttons, cutting hair, and comforting each other in death – encounters with women provided the opportunity for quasi-maternal support that could also emotionally sustain the soldiers.⁵ This was a common phenomenon amongst the colonial troops during the war. Claude Markovits' work on Indian soldiers on the Western Front considers the 'particular empathy' that developed between French women and the men in the domestic space. These men 'stayed with them and could offer some help in accomplishing the most demanding physical tasks that women were forced to perform in the absence of their men' and in turn the women became 'kind of godmothers or surrogate mothers.'⁶

These encounters had further significance in the context of colonial service, where the 'borderlines' between race, gender and war were challenged.⁷ The different genders that interacted within these contact zones, as briefly raised in Chapter Four but more fully explored here, introduced new tensions as the simultaneous structures of colonialism and patriarchy were engaged with and troubled by encounters between women and colonial troops. Ann Laura Stoler has thought about sexuality as point of power exchange.⁸ Her work, and other studies, have explored how the 'discursive management of the sexual practices of colonizer and colonized was fundamental to the colonial order of things.'⁹ During the First World War, the colonial order had been disrupted – as has already been demonstrated in the

² Roper, p. 6.

³ Roper, p. 26.

⁴ Roper, p. 6.

⁵ Roper, p. 205.

⁶ Markovits, p. 47.

⁷ Melman, p. 2.

⁸ Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995), p. 3.

⁹ Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, p. 4.

transnational networks created by the journeys to war, the competitive colonial masculinities at camp and the arrival of colonial men in the metropolis. This was a period of dislocation for the British Empire and therefore managing the added complexity of gender and sexuality in this context became even more significant. The colonial discourses of gender and sexuality were reproduced within the context of war but were also subverted by the changing contact zones in which they occurred.¹⁰

The troops of different ethnicities and imperial status came into contact with both white representatives of the metropole and other colonial subjects. As Stoler has highlighted, the sexual division between races in the colonies was an important separation in efforts to maintain the structure of white predominance, a tool for order and control.¹¹ Evolutionary theories from the late nineteenth century claimed that men of colour were less intellectually developed and civilised and that therefore their sexuality was more aggressive and animalistic.¹² Richard Smith describes how 'blackness represented unrestrained expression of sexuality, feeling and emotion' and was therefore threatening and 'predatory' as non-white men arrived in Europe.¹³ Protecting 'white' prestige during the global conflict included maintaining the boundaries of sexual contact. White women were invested with particular significance: the privileges of race often put them in positions of power over colonised men and women and they were 'boundary keepers' both in colonial settings and at home.¹⁴ The disrupted boundaries of the First World War and the new potential contact with both white and non-white colonial men increased the pressure upon white women to support the maintenance of imperial structures as the margins of empire changed. This meant avoiding 'miscegenation' or racial mixing.¹⁵ British 'prestige' depended on the high status of white

¹⁰ Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, p. 176.

¹¹ Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*, p. 6.

¹² Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 101.

¹³ Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 101.

¹⁴ McClintock, p. 6, p. 24; Wendy Webster, *Englishness and Empire 1939-1965* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 10. Further pressure will be placed on the significance invested in white women during the war in the following chapter where the encounters between nurses and their colonial patients are examined.

¹⁵ Ross Forman, 'Race and Empire', *Palgrave Advances in the Modern History of Sexuality* ed. by H. G. Cocks and Matt Houlbrook (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 124.

women that would be perceived as reduced if they entered into relationships with men of colour.¹⁶ Further, the growing eugenics movement held that the mixed race children born of such relationships were 'inferior' and therefore a threat to the health and strength of the nation and empire.¹⁷ Simultaneously, there was an imagined threat from non-white women, notably from Egyptian sex workers and their 'diseased' bodies, which I detailed in Chapter Four. White men's relationships with non-white women had been permitted in colonial settings as a tool for aiding the long-term settlement of European men.¹⁸ Yet the visible crossing of boundaries during the war, the potential threat to military health and the need to preserve white masculine prestige as well as that of white femininity now challenged how acceptable these relations could be. This was a period when both race relations and gender relations were shifting with accompanying anxieties about preserving 'order' and 'structure'.

The chapter begins with encounters with children in Europe and Egypt, often the first civilians with whom the colonial troops would interact. Encounters with women in Egypt predominantly related to the sex work discussed in Chapter Four and there was a comparative lack of civilian presence in the campaigns in Sinai and Palestine, as well as at Gallipoli.¹⁹ Therefore the chapter turns to representations of the men's encounters with women in Britain and France, during service on the Western Front and time training and at rest in England. Men of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force (NZEF) moved to Sling and Larkhill Camps in Wiltshire for training over the winter of 1916 following the Gallipoli campaign for further deployment on the Western Front throughout 1917 and 1918. The British West Indies Regiment (BWIR) arrived in England from early 1916, stationed at Seaford in Sussex, and served in France until the end of the war. The South African Infantry Brigade (SAIB) were mobilised in September 1915, training in Hampshire for a few months

¹⁶ Jeffrey Greenhut, 'Race, Sex, and War: The Impact of Race and Sex on Morale and Health Services for the Indian Corps on the Western Front, 1914', *Military Affairs* (1981), 45, 2, 72.

¹⁷ McClintock demonstrates how 'breeding' and motherhood to improve the 'racial stock' and maintain the health of the imperial body politic became a national and imperial duty. Miscegenation would 'contaminate' this process. McClintock, p. 47.

¹⁸ Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*, p. 76.

¹⁹ Pugsley, *The Anzac Experience*, p. 120.

before being sent to Egypt, then returning to the Western Front to fight at the Somme from July 1916. The South African Native Labour Corps (SANLC) arrived in France from November 1916, where they remained until their disbandment in January 1918. The accounts of encounters with women are separated by race: I analyse white colonial experiences first and then non-white colonial experiences, to understand these contact zones as ‘charged sites of tensions’, whose crossed lines of race and gender reverberated in the accounts.²⁰ How did the men perceive the women they encountered? Were these sexual or romantic relationships? The chapter examines the experience of white colonial troops to suggest areas of concern in their relationships with women, despite there being no racial difference. The chapter then compares both the discursive and the actual management of non-white sexuality through the official restrictions placed on the non-white troops. Did institutional boundaries prove to be more flexible than the rhetoric suggested? Though women’s experience of encounters during the First World War become more visible in these accounts, the analysis relies exclusively on the men’s descriptions of these encounters.²¹

Encountering Children

Children were often the first civilians the troops encountered. As Stokes described above, the children of Caudry ran out to greet the arriving troops. Major Gresson, another New Zealander, found that as the troops marched through Cairo, ‘at the first beat of the drum the native children pour forth from the houses and side streets and run alongside us.’²² Children moved between social spaces, which were barred to others, even entering military camps as they played outdoors, revealing their freedom to explore and make friends with strangers. Children’s desire to be part of the excitement and military pageantry of the new visitors was demonstrated in an official photograph of Maori troops in Egypt with some local children, probably at Zeitoun Camp outside Cairo. The young boys saluted the camera, mimicking the soldiers in uniform and joining in their war games.

²⁰ Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*, p. 10.

²¹ *Bodies in Contact* ed. by Ballantyne and Burton, p. 4.

²² IWM, Documents 7242, Diary of Major Kenneth Gresson, 15 February 1915.



Maoris being entertained by Egyptian kids.²³

The curious uniformed colonial troops drew the children into camp to scrutinise them further. Children's freedom to enact interactions and cross racial boundaries made a significant difference for the non-white men who were often kept separate from the civilian population. Private Norris Roach, who served with the BWIR, wrote home from the Western Front that the local French children came to 'throw chocolates and cigarettes to the boys, for we are not allowed to go out from camp. These children tell us all the news'.²⁴ The children were able to negotiate the restrictions placed on the black BWIR men and act as go-betweens, providers of goods and services. The innocence of children and their naivety when faced with social and racial taboos meant that they seemed less aware of the social boundaries surrounding the colonial troops and labourers, as well as the white troops. Horner wrote about the West Indian men making friends in France, 'especially with little French children'.²⁵ He implies that this was the civilian group most willing to approach the unfamiliar black men and that racial difference meant less to children. The spontaneous encounters with children seem free from tension, unlike the encounters with women.

²³ AWM, Photographs, PS1076.

²⁴ *The West Indian*, 9 November 1917.

²⁵ Horner, p. 40.

Meeting children allowed the men to behave in a fatherly way, re-connecting to roles remembered from home. These children had often been rendered fatherless by the war, temporarily or permanently, adding a particular poignancy to the encounters. These relationships were in some ways mirrored by the maternal treatment received by the troops, behaving in quasi-paternal ways where women acted as mothers by proxy. The reproduction of familial structures is encapsulated in the image of a member of the NZEF on the island of Lemnos with two small local children and a donkey. Taken for propaganda purposes, the photograph nonetheless suggests the paternal benevolence of the individual soldier and the collective imperial forces, acting to safeguard and protect.



A New Zealand Soldier with two little children on Lemnos.²⁶

The photograph alludes to family as the soldier holds the children aloft, a sympathetic image of the troops 'abroad' which could encourage support for their campaigns as they maintained the white benevolent paternalism of empire. The series of images reveals that there were two soldiers in this encounter and the children's mother was also present, but this photograph remained the stand out image, using the potentially genuine affection between the soldier and

²⁶ IWM, Photographs, Q 13441.

these children to evoke a sentimental picture of the troops on service.²⁷ The emotional connection between the troops and the children they met was further drawn upon in written representations. One New Zealander's poem in the troop magazine *New Zealand at the Front* in 1918 – 'C'est La Guerre' – described a friendship with a little girl in France. The soldier wrote about a 'winsome little maiden/Always greets me with a laugh/And her eyes with mirth are laden – / Eyes that question, dance and chaff.'²⁸ The female child brought out his nurturing side and a regular relationship had been built; she 'always' greeted him with a laugh. At the end of the verse, a bomb hits sending splinters of shrapnel through the air. 'Oh, my God! One's caught the girlie! /Pauvre petite! Mais - c'est la guerre!'²⁹ The soldier was clearly taken aback by the loss of the child, to whom he had acted in a paternal way.

Yet, there was a limit to the affections and sympathies the men felt for the children they met – rather than welcome disruptions, encounters with civilians could be intrusions. New Zealander Major Gresson described the children in Cairo as 'quaint kiddoes [who] would be wonderfully "taking" were it not for the filthy state they are always in.'³⁰ The Egyptian children were part of the exoticised Eastern scene, as described in Chapter Four, revealing the perceived inferior characteristic of the 'other' in their lack of hygiene. Further, the troops found the children an interfering presence at points, becoming nuisances and provoking annoyance. James Williamson and his fellow New Zealanders were pestered for biscuits by 'hundreds of little French boys without shoes or socks who followed us, wanting beescuits as they called them. As far as I was concerned they could have all the biscuits in France.'³¹ Where some, including his compatriot John Maguire realised that these children belonged 'to the poorer class of peasantry, and so the request for these luxurious articles of food to the children was quickly granted', Williamson remained unsympathetic. Frequently it was groups of 'boys' who were a nuisance, as opposed to the 'winsome' little maiden: gender appears to

²⁷ IWM, Photographs, Q 13442, Q 13443.

²⁸ *New Zealand at the Front*, (1918), p. 85.

²⁹ *New Zealand at the Front*, (1918), p. 85.

³⁰ Gresson, 15 February 1915.

³¹ Williamson, p. 16.

have been a central determinant, even at that young age, in how the men responded to these civilian encounters, though race and ethnicity played a role, too. The encounters with children reveal how frequently the lines between military and domestic life were crossed and raise themes that would be more sharply revealed by encounters with women: the emotional function of these encounters, the re-enactment of family roles, and the limits to the men's interest in these interactions.

White Colonial Troops and Women

The white men of New Zealand and South Africa were far from home for the duration of their war service, on the Western Front from 1916 and during longer time in England. The New Zealanders trained at Sling Camp on Salisbury Plain (around ten miles from Salisbury), first over the winter of 1915-16, and the South Africans were encamped at Bordon Camp, close to the town of Bordon, in Hampshire from 1915. In their encounters with women, the men could recreate home and the maternal care that was central to their emotional wellbeing. At the same time, their encounters with women were an opportunity for sexual or romantic liaisons that, as established in Chapter Four, were deemed essential to maintain troop health and morale. The cartoons drawn by one P. G. Hanna in the troop magazine, *New Zealand at the Front*, offer an entry point into how the encounters of white colonial soldiers with women were popularly perceived during the war. Created along the frontlines of the Western Front, *New Zealand at the Front* was not only circulated for amusement amongst the New Zealand troops but was also sent home by the men as a way of communicating experience to their families. It was therefore revealing of contemporary discourse and opinions on what these encounters meant.

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‘As Others See Us’ by G. P. Hanna.³²

The humorous cartoons of soldiers returning from the front line for a home cooked meal and feminine attention reveal easy and temporary relations between the white colonial troops and these women, in this case in France. In a short story ‘Bulla-Biff’, also in *New Zealand at the Front*, Ted, George and the anonymous author visit a French *estaminet* on a regular basis:

Madame made such splendid omelettes and the champagne was good. And the girls – there were five of them – they were so bright and chatty and seemed much above the peasant class of the village. They were such capable girls, too. Some made lace, some made coffee, and some “made eyes”. And always they seemed so genuinely glad to see us.³³

³² *New Zealand at the Front* (1917), pp. 34-5.

³³ *New Zealand at the Front* (1917), p. 25.

The girls gazed flirtatiously at the men and there was a delicate frisson of intimacy but the atmosphere captured by the soldier was more like a family home. As white men, their interactions with women were not subject to the same concerns that those of the non-white colonial troops were. The white South Africans maintained their middle class English or English-Scottish roots as an important part of their identity, reaffirming imperial ties.³⁴ The New Zealanders, though asserting their national identity alongside their Britishness, remained connected to the Mother Country.³⁵ Both nations had, therefore, whiteness and Britishness in common, within their national identities, as well as an emphasis on strong, physical and martial masculinities safely restrained within the bounds of ‘respectable’ and ‘civilised’ societies.³⁶ While race did not pose a problem to the encounters of these white colonials, other categories influenced how these encounters took place. This section examines how the white colonial representations echoed the popular representations of interactions with women in Britain and France – as mothers or as romantic interests – both of which represented intimacy and closeness. Significantly, though, their accounts also revealed points where these seemingly uncomplicated interactions were challenged both by the women’s class and by the length of these relationships.

The white dominion soldiers’ letters and diaries demonstrate the comfort and support the men experienced in their encounters with French and British women. An article in *The Times* about the Anzacs in France from May 1916, shortly after their arrival, suggested the New Zealanders had ‘established a record in quick popularity with the country folk amid whom they are billeted. The Anzacs are thoroughly at home.’³⁷ For those in the SAIB from Afrikaner backgrounds, linguistic links with the Belgian civilians in Flanders could act to further broker relations.³⁸ When New Zealander Randolph Gray developed a sore throat and fever while on leave in London, he wrote home that his ‘good landlady made things very

³⁴ Nasson, *Springboks on the Somme*, p. 128.

³⁵ Phillips, *A Man’s Country?* p. 155.

³⁶ Phillips, *A Man’s Country?* p. 86.

³⁷ *The Times*, 13 May 1916.

³⁸ Nasson, *Springboks on the Somme*, p. 139.

cheerful and nursed me as though I were her own son.’³⁹ South African William St Leger described his billet-lady in France as ‘a motherly old French peasant woman’ who earnestly wished me good luck, and said that she hoped I should “return unwounded to my Mother, to England – and to my fiancée!”⁴⁰ Local French women who lived near to the frontline were also recorded maintaining the graves of all the Allied troops, including those of the colonials, a further form of maternal care.⁴¹ The white colonial men recorded the same access to domestic environments when billeted in civilian homes and by their regular patronage of local estaminets and cafes that the cultural productions presented.

The two cartoons in *New Zealand at the Front* created two distinct roles in their popular representation of women: maternal comfort and sexual pleasure. Yet these distinctions were not as clear as the images suggested. As Eric Hames reflected of his time in France: ‘the licentious behaviour of the soldier is a reaction of a different kind. He is really looking for a mother rather than a mistress when he seeks the arms of a woman.’⁴² Though the provisions of prophylaxis before leave in London horrified Hames, at least retrospectively, he understood the impulse behind sexual engagement.⁴³ Certainly the white dominion soldiers reflected upon their desires for women during their service. Though they criticised English sex workers during their time in London, the men recorded how white women of other classes inspired warmth and attraction as in their leave encounters. On their arrival from Egypt into the port of Folkestone, New Zealander Reginald Donald noted the favourable response to the woman serving tea:

One of our first sights was a real live English girl in charge of tea and cakes. It was amusing to see how particular the boys were in dealing with her and some couldn’t take their eyes off her. Two years is a long time.⁴⁴

The woman’s ‘real live’ Englishness captivated the men, enabling them to interact with her in a way, it is implied, that they had not been able to do with Egyptian women, in a way that

³⁹ Gray, 4 February 1917.

⁴⁰ St Leger, 21 February 1918.

⁴¹ AWMM, MS 95-11, Letter from Owen Le Gallais, 17 April 1915.

⁴² Hames, p. 20.

⁴³ Hames, p. 19.

⁴⁴ Donald, p. 169.

reinforced the connections between New Zealand and England and their shared whiteness. The scene is reminiscent of Stanley Natusch's interaction with an English woman as he journeyed down the Suez Canal: 'you know or possibly do not know how an English woman's voice is now appreciated'.⁴⁵ For the white dominion men, many of whom considered themselves simultaneously British and New Zealander or South African, white British women understandably held an elevated status as symbols of the imperial centre, both at home in England or further removed. Familiarity of culture and family networks allowed connections to home to be made through English women. William St Leger was a white South African officer who moved in elite society due to his high rank and was able to make romantic connections during his time on leave in Cannes in the South of France:

Colonel Casalais was there with his wife and introduced a friend of his to Dad. He took me off to introduce to his daughter saying: 'I know you'd like to talk to an English girl again.' She was as a matter of fact Scotch, but it was awfully refreshing to talk to an English (or Scotch) girl again. She was a charming girl, and very pretty, looking something like Cecil Burnett, only perhaps daintier.⁴⁶

His connections gave him access to military 'society' amongst the higher ranks of the army, a circle where pretty young English (or Scottish) girls came to visit their fathers across the Channel. Their interaction shortened, once again, the apparent distance between colony and metropole. All three accounts reveal the importance of shared whiteness and 'British' identity in allowing intimacy between the soldiers and the women they met. At the same time, the men's colonial identity also held a certain appeal. John Moloney described how the lads with him in France would 'always wear their slouch hats as they consider that they "get off" easier' when identified as colonial: 'I suppose it is because we are a little different from the rank and file; have a certain independence and (so one girl told me) a touch of romance that appeals.'⁴⁷ This play on their 'colonial' identities, which as white men they could manage, suggests the men's own sexual impulses at stake in these encounters.

⁴⁵ Natusch, 4 December 1914.

⁴⁶ St Leger, 31 March 1917.

⁴⁷ Moloney, 11 December 1916.

The men's experiences of encounters with women as captured in their letters and diaries implied their seemingly effortless contact, as a result of their shared whiteness. But other accounts from the white South African and New Zealand soldiers suggested, too, areas of strain around these interactions that contested these connections and reinforced the role of class and nationality. Both the actions of working-class women and the marriages that took place during the war created unexpected tensions for the white colonial troops. While Levine has argued that the 'dominion soldiers' reported popularity with white women did not raise the same degree of alarms as indications of sexual interest across racial lines', the attention women paid to them could still appear threatening to patriarchal, and therefore colonial, order.⁴⁸ Equally white British women's marriages to New Zealander or South African men created problems at the end of the war. Young British women left the Mother Country for the dominions just when their nation needed them most to care for the returning men, to repopulate the race and to rebuild the nation's strength.⁴⁹ Concern about both of these behaviours was expressed and reflected upon by the troops in their letters and diaries.

Contemporary anxieties about 'khaki fever' – 'dangerous' behaviour by young, particularly working class, women who congregated around militarised and urban spaces in Britain to interact with soldiers – led to the policing of these girls and their bodies by the British authorities to curb promiscuous and 'indecent' behaviour.⁵⁰ The patriarchal spotlight was on young white women whose actions threatened stable motherhood, echoing concerns about the British 'race' and imperial anxieties.⁵¹ French women behaved similarly, too, along the Western Front. For the women living through the war in Britain and France – their men far from home – the excitement created by the new troops in such uncertain and unstable domestic and economic times was understandable. These were reciprocal encounters but the men frequently neglected their own role and instead described being on the receiving end of

⁴⁸ Philippa Levine, 'Battle Colours: Race, Sex and Colonial Soldierly in World War I', *Journal of Women's History*, 9 (1998), 111.

⁴⁹ Bourke, p. 14.

⁵⁰ Woollacott, "Khaki Fever"; Levine, "Walking the Streets".

⁵¹ Levine, 'Battle Colours', 112.

female attentions, both willingly and unwillingly. Where the men had expressed ‘disgust’ about the sex workers on London’s streets, a similar, but distinct, form of misogynistic language was used to discuss the open expressions of female economic and sexual agency. Henry Kitson wrote home from Woodcote Camp in Epsom, England, that ‘girls are the limit here’: ‘there are dozens of girls from 19 to 45 looking for someone to pay them some attention. Some jolly pretty little things too.’⁵² The men’s representations of the women’s attention reinforced their elite military masculinity: they gained this attention by being exemplars of the British Empire’s strength as physically dominating imperial soldiers in uniform. But, not all the men welcomed this attention: Reginald Donald complained that ‘at times this curiosity borders on disrespect.’⁵³ St Leger ended up leaving a sports day to go for a walk as women arrived in such large numbers to watch the sports.⁵⁴ James Williamson described English women as ‘very shrewd’:

One stunt I saw worked twice successfully was, they landed in Boscombe (Bournemouth) dressed well, fur coats and all. Threw a bit of money about, made out that they had plenty besides. Two of our chaps married two of the girls (at different times) and found out when they got married, the girls had nothing left. Of course the marriage may have turned out alright, but I have my doubts.⁵⁵

Williamson’s criticism of the brides’ intentions reflected his suspicion of their manipulation and their unattractive and unfeminine behaviour. The women presented a threat to the men’s health, their morale, and their money: the hard earned and higher rate wages of war of the white colonial soldiers. Again, this could be a retrospective distancing as Williamson asserted his own ‘sense’ in not falling for these cheap tricks. Without the voices of the women themselves, the narratives of these encounters were deeply one-sided and couched in a patriarchal response to female agency, privileging male perspectives.⁵⁶

⁵² Kitson, 25 February 1916.

⁵³ Donald, 9 August 1916.

⁵⁴ St Leger, 9 August 1917.

⁵⁵ Williamson, pp. 49-50.

⁵⁶ Clare Makepeace has begun to recover the experience of women on the other side of these encounters in her work on British soldiers’ experiences in French brothels during the First World War. Makepeace, ‘Punters and their prostitutes: British soldiers, masculinity and *maisons tolérées* in the First World War’, *What is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World* ed. by John H. Arnold and Sean Brady (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

Encounters between white dominion troops and women – predominantly British – that ended in marriage created problems. Around 3000 wives and 600 children of New Zealand soldiers who had married abroad arrived in New Zealand during the period of demobilisation – around 180 women arrived in Wellington on the *Athenic* in March 1919, along with a number of children.⁵⁷ There are limited statistics on white South Africans who married during the First World War, though it has been suggested that their Australian counterparts had 13,000 war brides and that an estimated 54,000 relatives (including brides, children and other family members) accompanied the Canadian troops following demobilisation.⁵⁸ Few of the war brides' stories have been preserved, so the role of love and courtship from their perspective, along with how they viewed the process of emigration, was rarely recorded. Equally, while a great deal of scholarly attention has been paid to the war brides of the Second World War, surprising little has been written about those of the First World War.⁵⁹ In the photograph below, an Australian soldier is pictured with the English nurse who treated him following the Gallipoli campaign, whom he married in Bermondsey in London.



Anzac Falls in Love and Marries his Nurse.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ New Zealand History, 'Armistice Day'. < <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/war/armistice-day/armistice-overseas> > [accessed: 13 August 2016]

⁵⁸ National Archives Australia, 'War Brides'. < <http://www.naa.gov.au/about-us/media/media-releases/2015/13.aspx> > [accessed: 5 August 2016]. Veterans Affairs Canada, 'Canadian War Brides'. < <http://www.veterans.gc.ca/eng/remembrance/history/second-world-war/canadian-war-brides> > [accessed: 13 August 2016]

⁵⁹ Carol Fallows, *Love and War: Stories of War Brides from the Great War to Vietnam* (Sydney: Bantam Books, 2002).

⁶⁰ *The Daily Sketch*, 1916. Relationships that developed between the colonial men and their nurses are examined further in Chapter Six.

These numerous marriages were not necessarily celebrated, as the temporary relocations of the First World War resulted in more permanent migrations. New Zealand High Commissioner, Thomas MacKenzie, wrote a letter in *The Times* stating that: ‘for obvious reasons we do not encourage our men to marry here’.⁶¹ The end of the war created difficult circumstances for the young colonials and their new wives. In the Mother Country, the returning British soldiers might possibly be deprived of girlfriends or sweethearts, swept away by the colonial troops, which had implications for the future of the population. New Zealand’s own women were thought to be unhappy at the prospect of their men returning with English brides after being away for so long: their own passage to adulthood and marriage had already been disrupted by the war. Herbert Tuck wrote home to his sister about rumours of New Zealand women ‘going very butcher’s hook and mobbing them when they landed with their soldier husbands.’⁶² An article from the troop magazine *Kia Ora Coo-Ee* bemoaned the complaints of home girls: ‘they should rejoice, and welcome as sisters the young wives from the Motherland, when they come to dwell in the land that gave their soldier-husbands birth.’⁶³ The author argued that, given how many Australian and New Zealander women had married abroad, they had no right to begrudge the soldiers the right to choose their own wives but possessiveness of the troops, including sweethearts, whom they had sent off to war was evidently deep seated. It was clear that the marriages of the First World War caused considerable emotional and demographic upset in both metropolis and dominion. While the white dominion soldiers from South Africa and New Zealand demonstrated easy relationships with civilians, the consequences of such relationships had repercussions even within the ‘safe’ dynamics of shared whiteness. Both war marriages and ‘khaki’ fever threatened the existing colonial and patriarchal orders. Similar behaviours produced tensions for the non-white colonial troops but these were framed within the discourses of non-white sexuality and colonialism.

⁶¹ *The Times*, 2 February 1918.

⁶² Butcher’s hook is Cockney rhyming slang for ‘look’. Tuck, 12 August 1918.

⁶³ *The Kia Ora Coo-Ee: The Magazine For The Anzacs In The Middle East*, 3 (1918).

What the letters and diaries did not touch upon in detail was the emotions caught up in these encounters. Fictional accounts of white dominion service revealed how the emotional intensity of wartime rendered the normal civilian distinctions of sex, desire and love too remote for vulnerable and frightened men, separated from home and looking for relief.⁶⁴

South African Hubert Leppan, who wrote a series of short stories and sketches based on his own experiences during the war, revealed the emotional connections in these encounters.

This included an account of some time spent in London by a South African officer, Hornby, and the sexual encounter that occurred there.

As they exchanged commonplaces, in which she learned that he was a South African and had few intimate friends in London, he took stock of his companion. She had a delightful voice, frank friendly face, and an air of freshness, which appealed to him and disarmed restraint. "Captain Hornby, why stay at a hotel? You'll miss small comforts there. Put up at my house, as a South African cousin of mine, and without tying you down in any way, I shall see that you are made comfortable." [...] They fell into each other's step from the first. At the end of the dance, Hornby, intoxicated by her perfume, the feel of her supple body and the sense of comradeship, kissed her almost before he realised what he was doing.⁶⁵

As in New Zealander John A. Lee's *Civilian into Soldier*, where the protagonist found home and sexual comforts in the arms of an English woman. Hornby was able, too, to live a kind of home life with the women he met at the train station and so experience a more romantic and less sexually driven encounter. He was able to maintain a respectable façade because he was white: no black man could have respectably taken the status of a cousin from South Africa.

As a result, Hornby stayed at this woman's home and was able to engage in a sexual and romantic relationship in a domestic setting. Fictional stories, though based on lived experience, created an additional freedom for both Lee and Leppan to express the realities of sexual and romantic freedom at war, adding to the narrative in a way that those writing home would be unable to do.

⁶⁴ Das, "Kiss me, Hardy", 69.

⁶⁵ Hubert Dudley Leppan, *Scars: A South African's Views on the Scars of the War* (Cape Town: Central News Agency, 1931), pp. 38-40.

Non-White Colonial Troops and Women

As established above, the threat of black masculinity, with its alleged highly expressive and 'predatory' sexuality, generated anxieties about protecting the whiteness and white 'prestige' of Europe as non-white troops arrived in the centre and encountered white women. The mobilisations of the First World War saw a potential collapse of the racial boundaries of empire. By making (some) non-white men soldiers, at least in name, the British government had made it more difficult to maintain 'a strict separation between the white colonizers and the non-white colonized.'⁶⁶ Equally, in civilian encounters, white masculinity was now in competition with that of these uniformed black men as a result of their arrival in Europe in large numbers.⁶⁷ Attempts were made to restrict the freedom of African, Caribbean and Asian troops in Britain during the First World War in response to fears of racial mixing and miscegenation and Levine has highlighted the restrictions placed on men of colour where none existed for white men.

While Canadian and Australasian soldiers could spend their leaves in London where the common amenities of military leave – sex and strong drink – were readily available, their colonial counterparts, combatant and non-combatant alike, were closely cloistered.⁶⁸

Institutional discrimination operated to prevent miscegenation as and attempt to limit the freedoms afforded to the non-white colonial troops.⁶⁹ In France, too, official anxieties about black and white mixing went beyond fears of 'racial and national pollution' to concerns with the effect of mixed race relationships on their colonial troops' respect for white women when the soldiers returned home.⁷⁰ Though the British colonial troops were subjects of another empire, non-white encounters were also operating within this framework and could be as threatening to French imperial stability as they were to the British. Yet, the differences in the discourses about the non-white men studied here – Maori, West Indian and South African –

⁶⁶ Fogarty, p. 204.

⁶⁷ Franz Fanon has described that the 'fantasy of the native is precisely to occupy the master's place' but that white women were to 'seized, possessed and taken hold of' by black men in direct competition to white men. The mobilisations of the First World War could be seen to displace the 'master', hence the accompanying concern about white women. Franz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (London: Pluto Press, 1967), p. 46. Discussed in McClintock, p. 362.

⁶⁸ Levine, 'Battle Colours', 105.

⁶⁹ Howe, 'Military-Civilian Intercourse', 90.

⁷⁰ Fogarty, p. 203; Greenhut, 72.

complicated how each group was perceived. Again, the analysis focuses on the interactions these men had with women in Britain and France. While the discussion of the white New Zealanders and South Africans was based on their own accounts with women, there are very few such records for the non-white men. Hence, I rely predominantly on representations of non-white encounters with women written by onlookers, supplementing witness testimonies with photographic material out of necessity. The reliance on representations of non-white sexuality that were often written by white men creates problems. Often these were managed or edited to satisfy certain propaganda aims or in compliance with the existing racial order. As such the discourses about non-white sexuality that framed these encounters are introduced to better understand why these encounters were particularly represented, where others were less frequent or absent.

The Maori men from New Zealand served in Britain and in France, from the end of 1915 to the armistice, as members of the First Maori Contingent or the Pioneer Battalion. The Pioneer Battalion was predominantly stationed in the Northern department in France and in Flanders. Even though the Maori men were mainly used as non-combatants on the Western Front, their frontline work saw them stationed in areas similar to the other Anzac troops and they often occupied billets that other forces had just vacated.⁷¹ Their billets included civilian homes in Nieppe Forest in April 1916 and in Estaires in May 1916, in Oosthove Farm in Belgium in the spring and summer of 1917 and in Bois de Warnimont, twenty miles north of Arras in 1918. In England, following the Armistice, the battalion was stationed at Larkhill Camp on Salisbury Plain, near to the NZEF at Sling Camp. Contemporary discourse about the Maori retained elements of exoticism, which emphasised imagined realities of the physicality and violence of Maori men. While this was a central part of their martial reputation, this could also be perceived as 'savagery' and intellectual inferiority, which

⁷¹ Cowan, p. 118.

assumed, too, the ill-treatment of women in this 'less civilised' society.⁷² At the same time, intermarriage between white settlers and Maori had long been a part of 'racial amalgamation' in New Zealand as a method of 'extending the rule of law, commerce and Christianity into Maori communities': many Maori chiefs had sought to be actively included with the European order of the settlers.⁷³ In New Zealand's official ideology, Maori were constructed as racially homogenous with their Pakeha counterparts, rather than entirely 'other', and this made them suitable for intermarriage, in a nominally equal and integrated society.⁷⁴ Though the relative 'official' equality of New Zealand society and the recognition of Maori as being different from other non-white men in contemporary discourse – 'brown Europeans', 'honorary members of the white tribe', 'best black' – Maori were still scrutinised as non-white men.⁷⁵ As a result of their mobilisations, the Maori men were subject to other racial attitudes in which their exceptional status would not necessarily be recognised.

To examine Maori interactions with women, the paucity of letters and diaries from the Maori men themselves necessitates the examination of other genres of source material. Official photographs captured Maori interactions with women that emphasised the 'good' behaviour of the Maori men, a significant counter to claims of their violence or 'savagery'.⁷⁶ As in the photographs of the haka in Chapter Three, Maori troops appeared in a more integrated fashion and were 'portrayed as much more active than simply imperial adornments'.⁷⁷ Unsurprisingly, photographs show Maori with women in platonic, friendly engagement. The first was captioned as 'the Market Woman' in James Cowan's history.⁷⁸

⁷² Brendan Hokowhitu, 'Tackling Maori Masculinity: A Colonial Genealogy of Savagery and Sport', *The Contemporary Pacific*, 16, 2 (2004) 264, 266; Brendan Hokowhitu, 'The Death of Koro Paka: "Traditional" Maori Patriarchy', *The Contemporary Pacific*, 20, 1 (2008), 117.

⁷³ Wanhalla, p. 47; Bennett, 'Maori as honorary members', 36.

⁷⁴ James Bennett has illustrated how Asian populations in New Zealand were treated very differently from the Maori population in 'Maori as honorary members', 34. Further, the racist attitudes of New Zealand soldiers, both white and Maori, have been exposed in their encounters with 'other' groups; attitudes to Maori, and other martial groups, were the exception.

⁷⁵ Winegard, p. 37; Bennett, 'Maori as Honorary Members', 38.

⁷⁶ Hynes, p. 220.

⁷⁷ Hynes, p. 234.

⁷⁸ Cowan, p. 113. New Zealand Electronic Text Collection.

<<http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-CowMaor-t1-body-d12.html#n113>> [accessed: 8 August 2016]



In the photograph, the Maori man is integrated amongst his white compatriots. The encounter was presented as a financial transaction; the woman was described as a market woman with goods to sell, the Maori man seemed to be getting money from his pocket. The image emphasises civility but not romance, as apparent in the accounts of the white soldiers, taking place in front of lots of other people. The positioning of the men within the photograph has multiple inferences: the white soldiers almost appear as chaperones for the unreliable barbarism of Maori men that remained prevalent to discourse about their masculinity, safeguarding both the Maori man and the white woman from any suggestion of miscegenation. There is no suggestion of touch or intimacy; the woman is in conversation with one of the white troops and so there is not even eye contact between the two. It took place in an open space, rather than enclosed in a billet or café. Simultaneously the image captured the supposed integration of New Zealand race relations: this soldier was part of the 'white tribe' and so 'behaves' just like his fellow white troops. There was little tension in this image. A second photograph, from the Ministry of Information's Official Collection similarly emphasises amicable, non-sexual relations.



A Maori lumber worker talking to a Frenchwoman, Foret de Nieppe, March 1917.⁷⁹

The older Frenchwoman – reminiscent of other New Zealanders’ maternal figures and therefore sexually unavailable – and the Maori man are engaged in friendly conversation, his axe very carefully angled away from her. The woman is curious about this unfamiliar man, but it seems like a very amicable encounter – both are smiling and open. While there are no immediately visible chaperones in the encounter, both the capture of the image by photographer Ernest Brooks and the shadows cast by others present remind the viewer that these encounters were being carefully watched. Like the first photograph, this image is taken within a Maori working environment, rather than in a domestic space, so still within the boundaries of army jurisdiction. The photographs indicate the politics of representation in the case of encounters with women; even if encounters took place in the domestic realm, photographers found it more comfortable to set encounters in the public sphere.

At the same time as these careful representations, the military were at pains to ensure that Maori relationships with white women were restricted to a non-sexual and non-romantic

⁷⁹ IWM, Photographs, Q4740.

basis. James Williamson recalled retrieving a Maori man who had been taken prisoner for two weeks after he had 'been out with an English girl instead of being on night operations'.⁸⁰ While the man's imprisonment by the British Army rested on his failure to do his military duty, the association between mixed race relationships and the punishment shows an interesting tension, which may have acted to deter others. Finding a Maori man neglecting his duty and with a white English woman would be perceived as a double crime for the white Englishmen who caught him, adding to perceptions of the 'unreliable' colonial who could not be trusted. More explicitly, in the same letter in the *Times* about war marriages, the High Commissioner Thomas MacKenzie stated that 'in no instance is permission given to Maori members of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force to contract marriages in this country.'⁸¹ While mixed race marriages were acceptable within the setting of New Zealand, marriage between Maori men and English woman was perceived as untenable, given white women's symbolic significance as keepers of the colonial order. Where white New Zealanders were solely discouraged from marriage, Maori men were expressly forbidden but further representations of encounter challenged the authorities' rhetoric. There was a contradiction between the 'projected' experience of official photography and the New Zealand authorities, and the 'lived' experience of Maori men. An issue of the *Daily Sketch* included a photograph of a Maori soldier with his English bride in January 1917. The two had met when Private Popoi was at hospital in Walton-on-Thames where his bride, Miss Winifred Alderton, lived, though we do not know how they met. While the photograph was a formal portrait to mark the occasion, it was a great deal more intimate than the official photographs, marking the marriage of this soldier in military dress and his English bride. Like the image of the Anzac soldier and his bride, it seemed to have been taken outside the church where the marriage took place.

⁸⁰ Williamson, p. 50.

⁸¹ *The Times*, 2 February 1918.



The Maori and his English Bride.⁸²

Maori marriages were captured in written accounts, too, again mainly by white soldiers. White New Zealander Alexander Prebble wrote home from hospital in Weybridge about a wounded Maori soldier marrying an English girl:

Just before the wedding he was put wise to the fact that he needed a 'best man'. He got another Maori to act in that capacity and the wedding was a success. The best man took a fancy to the bridesmaid (whom he had never seen before) and within a week he was married with the previously married Maori as his best man.⁸³

Like Rikihana Carkeek of the First Maori Contingent who travelled back to hospital in Trent Bridge from London on the train with 'with two ladies who showed us the sights along the Trent River', following a period of leave where he met a lady friend in Hyde Park, these glimpses of Maori encounters with women disrupt the management of the colonial order.⁸⁴ Though Carkeek was mixed race and could therefore potentially pass as 'white', his contingent identified him as Maori. The personal exceptions proved the flexibility of

⁸² *Daily Sketch*, 27 May 1916.

⁸³ ATL, MS-Papers-2416, Papers of Alexander Prebble, 1 November 1918.

⁸⁴ Carkeek, 6 June 1916.

measures to prevent racial mixing. Yet, the poignancy of these moments of encounter is that they seem to have been exceptional to the rule. We do not know how frequently these relationships occurred – they are the rare few preserved in a wider environment of constant racial discrimination against non-white men.

The West Indian men of the BWIR operated in a different framework from the Maori troops. Colonialist rhetoric constructed black men's sexuality in opposition to white masculinity and sexuality as a way of maintaining control and order over colonised peoples. There were certain discourses about West Indian men in the hierarchy of non-white races.⁸⁵ Specific to encounters with women was the understanding of West Indian men as 'slaves to passion', unable to restrain their sexual impulses.⁸⁶ There were contemporary reports of family instability in the West Indies and about the low status accorded to women there, a result of the sexual double standard in which men were perceived to act as they pleased, while taking no responsibility for pregnancy or disease.⁸⁷ Suspicions about over-sexualised black men, their promiscuity and problematic patriarchy, appeared to be validated by contemporary public health concerns, in much the same way as the treatment of Egyptian sex workers was informed by their high rates of VD.⁸⁸ Historian Glenford Howe points to the high VD rates in the West Indies in this period, which had implications for military recruitment, and the connections made to the sexual morality of the West Indian people. In a report on prostitution and venereal disease in Castries, St Lucia, district medical officer, prison surgeon and port health officer Alex King observed that 'the negro race has less sexual morality than any under the sun.'⁸⁹ These discourses had implications for West Indian interactions with women in Britain as less 'moral' colonial subjects, for whom any relationship with white women would challenge the racial hierarchy. Though discourse about Maori men still drew on their physicality and propensity for 'violence', West Indian men's specific associations with

⁸⁵ Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 101.

⁸⁶ Howe, 'Military-Civilian Intercourse', 90; Marcus Collins, 'Pride and Prejudice: West Indian Men in Mid Twentieth Century Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, 40, 3 (2001), 396.

⁸⁷ Collins, 397.

⁸⁸ Harrison, 'Venereal Disease', 151.

⁸⁹ Howe, 'Military Selection', 42.

sexual promiscuity and 'immorality' was thought to have the potential to 'corrupt' any white women with whom they had relationships.⁹⁰ Again, necessitated by the paucity of source material, I use the books by the padres who served with the BWIR to consider how they presented encounters with civilians, before using extracts from letters home published in newspapers to compare how the men themselves represented these interactions in Britain and France. The BWIR were stationed at Seaford in Sussex from early 1916, returning as patients to hospitals there later in the war, as well as spending time in London, before service in Flanders and France into 1918.

The padres who served with the BWIR men were conscious of racial anxiety and the threat of miscegenation. Alfred Horner, the white English missionary who served as a padre, was judicious in how he relayed the behaviour and treatment of the BWIR to the audiences reading his texts, which were circulated in the West Indies and Britain. Though his own appreciation of the appeal and beauty of the black bodies of the BWIR men was conditioned by discourses of hyper-sexuality, when it came to encounters with women, the accounts were much more careful.⁹¹ As a chaplain, Horner was responsible for the religious support of his men and their physical, material and moral welfare.⁹² As such the 'immoral' aspects of life at war, including sexual encounters, were expected to be sanitised in the padre's descriptions, as to acknowledge them would suggest the padres' failure. In *From the Islands of the Sea*, Horner engaged in a complex process of articulating the possibilities of war's contact zones while maintaining the existing 'acceptable' West Indian position within colonial boundaries, as well as attending to his own moral responsibilities for the BWIR. From the outset, he outlined his own and others' consciousness of the men's blackness and their visible racial difference. Horner described the 'unusual aspect' about these troops, 'which renders them at once objects of interest to both the British Tommy and the French civilian, blasé as they are both

⁹⁰ Later work on mixed race relationships between West Indians and white British women indicates how women who became involved with black men were frequently presented as sexually 'deviant' and 'immoral'. Collins, 407.

⁹¹ Horner, p. 8.

⁹² Edward Madigan, *Faith Under Fire: Anglican Army Chaplains and the Great War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 109.

apt to be to the presence of troops marching through their midst. They are coloured men.’⁹³ He went on to describe the initial ‘atmosphere of suspicion’ around the BWIR in France. ‘Neither the British authorities nor the French civilians had been used to coloured troops, and for a time we were distinctly watched lest our work and conduct should prove unseemly.’⁹⁴ Though the French had mobilised their own colonial subjects, most prominently ‘les tirailleurs Sénégalais’, they were still not familiar with having black men in their own country.⁹⁵ Despite emphasising the ‘very hearty greeting’ of cheering and waving that the BWIR received, particularly in England and his gratitude for it – ‘women, daughters and men of England, on behalf of our dusky lads from over the seas a poor wanderer thanks and salutes you’ – Horner recognised the racially charged framework in which the West Indians would have to operate.⁹⁶

Consequently, Horner avoided any allusion to potent sexuality or predatory behaviour from the West Indian men – as expected from a padre’s account – and instead promoted their ‘good behaviour’ as respectful, deferential and friendly, similar to representations of Maori behaviour but within the different racial framework. His account gave no suggestion of sexual relationships occurring between the West Indian men and the white British or French women they met, which would have undermined how he positioned the BWIR men as ‘good citizens of empire’, whom the Army had been right to mobilise. This was particularly important as Horner’s book was published as a series of chapters while the war was still being fought. Instead, he described quiet and respectful service to the French people: ‘One would find them gradually making friends, especially with little French children, and doing little odd kindnesses for people’.

I remember well a little row of houses very close to our camp in every one of which, during the evening, B.W.I. boys might have been seen huddled round the stove, for it was cold, doing odd jobs for the lady of the house, regaling themselves with coffee, and so far as they were able carrying on a conversation

⁹³ Horner, p. 1.

⁹⁴ Horner, p. 40.

⁹⁵ Fogarty, p. 203.

⁹⁶ Horner, p. 14.

in which 'home' – so very different in every way from what they were experiencing – had a prominent place.⁹⁷

These encounters were safe and platonic. The focus positioned the French women as substitute mothers who provided sanctuary, rather than having romantic or sexual interest, obscuring the more complex relationships between mother and lover that were revealed in the New Zealanders' accounts.⁹⁸ In *estaminets* and coffee houses, Horner described how the men fraternized with the French civilians in broken French, 'making themselves useful, and generally, by their quiet and respectful demeanour, earning for themselves the sobriquet [...] "the friendly (or amiables) coloured soldiers"'.⁹⁹ He emphasised how the West Indians earned their good relationships with the French civilians, with no direct reference to gender. This special friendship that existed between the two groups was presented as due to especially warm attitudes on the part of French civilians as much as to the efforts of the West Indian men: 'they (the French) seem to possess in a wonderful fashion the happy knack of making other races feel at least very much at home with them.'¹⁰⁰ Horner found something in the 'Latin temperament' of the French people 'has an irresistible appeal to the West Indian and calls out from him a gallantry and a politeness'.¹⁰¹ The French were perceived as bringing out the best in the West Indian men, which influenced their behaviour and made them more civil. Thus, this gentle chaperoning within French society once again curbed any threat of West Indian sexual immorality.

West Indian representations of encounters with civilians can be read in the short extracts of letters written by the men published in West Indian newspapers and give the impression of encounters of a more sexual nature. As Howe has described, when on leave in England, some of the BWIR soldiers and men from the West Indies and Africa who worked in the munitions factories did develop relationships with women of friendly, sexual and even marital

⁹⁷ Horner, p. 55.

⁹⁸ Again, the maternal role of civilian contact was reinforced as described by Markovits, p. 47.

⁹⁹ Horner, p. 4.

¹⁰⁰ Horner, pp. 52-53.

¹⁰¹ Horner, p. 53.

natures.¹⁰² These encounters are entirely absent in the padres' memoirs but in the letters published by the West Indian men in newspapers, there seems to have been no hesitancy in presenting the black BWIR men as having sexual agency, despite their readers including the white population of the West Indian islands. Private G. J. Dadd of the BWIR's first contingent wrote home from Seaford that girls 'threw kisses' at the men as they passed by on the train.¹⁰³ His letter continued, 'Plenty of girls. They love the boys in khaki. They detest walking with civilians. They love the darkies. Awfully cold.'¹⁰⁴ While, like the white men, Dadd may have been exaggerating the soldiers' appeal, this does not compromise the sexual feelings of the men. Khaki fever extended to the black West Indians in uniform along with the particular appeal of blackness: they wore soldiers' uniforms, rather than labourers' clothes, which ensured recognition of their professional status.¹⁰⁵ Both Seaford's white women and the BWIR men threatened 'the limits of white prestige and colonial control'; racial anxieties about white women's sexual agency paralleled that of 'the overtly sexualised black man now in uniform' as both were potentially threatening to the white patriarchy.¹⁰⁶ The sexual appeal that uniform endowed upon soldiers was recognised in the *Daily Sketch*, a popular British magazine, which published a photograph titled 'A Dusky Lady killer' of a 'boy of a West Indian regiment' who 'now that he wears the King's khaki, accounts himself quite a lady killer.'¹⁰⁷ While possibly sending up the 'dusky' non-white man, the effect of military uniform was presented as very important in attracting women during war. Though the photograph again reinforced discourse about the over-sexualised black man, the photograph corresponded with the men's own accounts of their experiences.

¹⁰² Howe, *Race, War and Nationalism*, p. 142. Howe draws on reports in the *Trinidad Mirror* on 11 November 1915 and 19 December 1915.

¹⁰³ *Jamaica Times*, 1 January 1916.

¹⁰⁴ *Jamaica Times*, 1 January 1916.

¹⁰⁵ The interwar period saw popular representations of sexually appealing non white men based on the novelty or exoticness of their race in Britain, for example, in popular 1920s desert romance novels which Orientalised Arab men as sexually wild predators and objects of female desire. Billie Melman, 'The Desert Romance', *Women and the Popular Imagination in the Twenties* ed. by Billie Melman (London: Macmillan, 1988). Marcus Collins addresses the perceived 'inexplicable' draw of black men for many white women as a trope in discussions of mixed race relationships in the 1950s that sociologists attempted to understand. Collins, 399.

¹⁰⁶ Levine, 'Battle Colours', 105; Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*, p. 26.

¹⁰⁷ *The Daily Sketch*, 10 January 1917.



A Dusky Lady-Killer.¹⁰⁸

The newspaper accounts allow us to better understand the sexual desires of the West Indian men. White assumptions about West Indians' sexual voracity and lack of morality dehumanised these men rather than recognising their individuality. In the diary of an anonymous member of the BWIR's second contingent, specially written for and published by *The Daily Gleaner*, the author wrote:

Another thing which seems of great importance to a large proportion of the brave Jamaican boys, is that there are no black women in England, a probability to them which is some ways almost a fact (!) and which they dearly hoped for. They are all of the same opinion as Mr. Yankee, quoting one of the lines of one of the many rags of that nation 'You can't live without a girl!'¹⁰⁹

There were, of course, black women in England but few, if any, in the small seaside Sussex towns where the West Indians were stationed before going to France in 1916.¹¹⁰ Though the author, probably white, seemed amused that the men thought there would be black women in England, the extract is significant in its recognition of the sexual agency of the West Indian men. This representation of the black men may have offered reassurance not only to home readers but those in Britain, too, about potential miscegenation and competition for women

¹⁰⁸ *The Daily Sketch*, 10 January 1917.

¹⁰⁹ *The Daily Gleaner*, 4 March 1916.

¹¹⁰ See Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (Chippenham: Anthony Rowe, 1984) for longer histories of black settlement in Britain.

between the BWIR and white British men. This perceived competition was a central factor in a 1917 race riot in London's East End, where working class white men attacked the houses of black men due to the perceived infatuation white women had for them.¹¹¹ The 1917 riot was a foreshadowing of the 1919 race riots in Britain, including in the cities of London, Liverpool, Cardiff and Glasgow, a direct consequence of the black and Asian men who were demobbed in Britain and were seen as competitors for jobs, housing and women.¹¹² While newspapers did not highlight relationships between white women and black men in their reportage of the riots, they consistently referred to fears of miscegenation.¹¹³ The violent consequences of encounters between black men and white women in the years immediately following the war makes Horner's attempt to somewhat mediate this experience clearer. While the extent of sexual relations between West Indian troops and women, white or black, remains unknown, their letters reveal that this was a very real occurrence during the war, despite efforts to control the troops.

For the black men who served with the SANLC, the experiences of encounter with women were subject to much greater restrictions. While the padres of the BWIR countered racialising discourse that promoted the sexual aggression and potency of black men with stories of their quiet interactions with the French civilians, the South Africans were more explicitly segregated to prevent racial mixing during their time in France.¹¹⁴ In complete contrast to New Zealand, where mixed race marriages were largely accepted, South Africa was deeply racially divided. Rather than solely being viewed as sexually immoral, as the West Indians were, 'powerful and lurid sexual imagination' intertwined with white fear of black men in South Africa and continued to create discourse of black men as sexual attackers and rapists,

¹¹¹ Levine, 'Battle Colours', 112.

¹¹² Lucy Bland, 'White Women and Men of Colour: Miscegenation Fears in Britain after the Great War' *Gender & History*, 17, 1 (2005), 35.

¹¹³ Michael Rowe, 'Sex, "race" and riot in Liverpool, 1919', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 19, 2 (2000), 57. The same competition for women would be cited in later race riots in Britain, in Notting Hill and Nottingham in 1958. See Collins, 391.

¹¹⁴ As established in Chapter Three, the South African government had legislated for the segregation of the hundreds of men in the SANLC from the other troops they served alongside. Kept in fenced off encampments, the SANLC were there to complete their labouring duties, not to mix with any of the other soldiers and labourers, from whom – it was feared – they might gain a sense of equality with white men.

as in the United States of America.¹¹⁵ While violent American lynching was not directly replicated in South Africa, violence and oppression of non-white people remained and revealed how racial fear remained ‘a potent emotional force.’¹¹⁶ When the South African authorities attempted to manage the sexual practices of black men in the SANLC, this was not only to preserve the racial order, but was based on the discourses that formed this racial order: protection of white women from a ‘voracious’ sexual appetite which could not be contained. A War Office history of the SANLC highlighted how segregation operated – an official stricture not applied so explicitly to the Maori and West Indian men – which took into consideration the ‘thickly populated’ civilian areas in Havre and Rouen where the SANLC were stationed.¹¹⁷ The aim was to keep black South African men away from women as they worked in Le Havre, Rouen, Dieppe, Rouxmesnil, Saigneville and Dannes. The men of the SANLC were further prohibited from entering the houses of Europeans.¹¹⁸ When taken out for ‘recreation’ or walks around the areas where they were stationed, the men of the SANLC were kept under close supervision by their white officers, echoing the unofficial chaperoning of the Maori or BWIR by fellow troops and padres, but drawing explicitly on black masculinity’s subordination to white.¹¹⁹

Understandably, very few contemporary records capture interactions between the SANLC and civilians during their time in France. The papers of Captain Brownlee, an officer with the SANLC’s first battalion, include a diary entry describing a visit to a local village where he chaperoned an encounter between the black men and French civilians.

The people here are much interested in Les Noirs and as we walked into the village an old lady standing in her flower garden signalled to me so I went up. She began touching her cheeks and asking “Messieurs les Noirs? Messieurs les Noirs?” [...] At least it dawned on me that she was asking if we were the officers of the black men, so with my politest bow and my hand in my jacket

¹¹⁵ Keith Breckenridge, ‘The allure of violence: men, race and masculinity on the South African goldmines, 1900–1950’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24, 4 (1998), 672.

¹¹⁶ Breckenridge, 672.

¹¹⁷ TNA, WO 107/37, pp. 25–6.

¹¹⁸ Levine, ‘Battle Colours’, 107.

¹¹⁹ Arthur F. Saint-Aubin discusses how understandings of the black man being incomplete without a white master – a firm, superior white masculinity to keep the inferior black masculinity balanced – was used to justify slavery. Saint-Aubin, ‘A Grammar of Black Masculinity: A Body of Science’, *African Masculinities: Men in Africa from the late nineteenth century to the present* ed. by Lahoucine Ouzgane and Robert Morrell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 29.

front I said, “Oui Madame.” She then said “D’Espagne?” and I replied “Non Madame, d’Afrique.” Thereupon she extended her hand which I took and the spectacle might have been seen of an elderly French Lady and a one time Chief Magistrate vigorously shaking hands near a garden gate while the one cried out “Vive l’Afrique” while the other to each shriek responded “Vive la France”.¹²⁰

The entry demonstrates how heavily supervised encounters between the French population and the visiting South Africans were. It was the SANLC’s white captain who took the lead and interacted with the French woman, asserting his control. Although Brownlee’s position with the ‘Messieurs les Noirs’ clearly associated him with the black men, the black men had no agency within the encounter. The idea of white chaperones resonates in the sole photographic representation of possible interaction between the black men of the SANLC and women, in the sports day photographs in Dannes in June 1917, analysed in Chapter Three. Within the series is a photograph of female VAD ambulance drivers attending the day. Three white women in uniform were captured having a picnic with two white officers of the Machine Gun Corps and Royal Artillery, all in their uniforms. Though they were at an SANLC sports day, none of the black men were included in the frame.¹²¹ The officers surround the women on either side of the photograph; in the background, too, we can see more white soldiers near the group. While there as spectators, there was no impression of more direct encounter between these white women and the black SANLC men. Instead, the photographer presents the VADs as safely chaperoned and separated by the white soldiers, acting as boundary keepers once more in maintaining racial order.

However, there are examples of the men of SANLC mixing with civilians, able to act more freely within the official management of their activity, in much the same way as Maoris and West Indians did. These appear in the oral testimonies of SANLC veterans Stimela Jason Jingoos and Jacob Koos Matli, retrospectively acknowledging the social relations that they developed during their time in England and France. Jingoos remembered arriving in the docks in Calais to receive similar treatment to that of England: ‘met by French people, men,

¹²⁰ Captain W.T. Brownlee, supplied by the Brownlee Family, Clothier, p. 102.

¹²¹ IWM, Photographs, Q 2396, South African Native Labour Corps War Dance and Sports, Dannes, 24 June 1917.

women and girls. All were laughing and shaking our hands.¹²² This set the precedent for their treatment while in France, living without ‘a colour bar’ as Cassim had described on the journey. The social ties developed by the men were most vividly exposed when they were due to leave France, from January 1918. Jingoës described how ‘some of us hid in the houses of our French friends. The military police caught most of us, but there were others who never went back to South Africa.’¹²³ The intervention of the military police to reclaim the men was part of the continuing management of the colonial order, both to remove black men from French society and to prevent miscegenation. Further still were the sexual and romantic relationships that developed. Jacob Koos Matli recalled incidences of relationships:

We got word that General Botha had stated that he did not want the natives who were in England back in South Africa as they were going about with English women. I do not know as to whether this was the truth or just rumour, but we came back and left many in England.¹²⁴

Why were those black men involved with white women in England left behind while their compatriots in France were rounded up by the military police? Black men who had had relationships with white women in the Mother Country had committed a further transgression than mere miscegenation. The specific role of English women as boundary keepers meant relationships with them held more significance than other mixed race relationships in other countries like France or Egypt.¹²⁵ Black colonial subjects in relationships with English women breached the bounds of the imperial centre and challenged the racial hierarchy upon which South Africa and empire were based. While in both instances there was concern and distaste for the threat to the racial order of the country, the fact of sexual encounters taking place in the Mother Country seems to have been an additional affront. Better to leave those men behind than have them arrive back in South Africa with a sense of entitlement to white women, including those of British origin, and thus threaten the imperial edifice at the periphery.

¹²² *A Chief is a Chief*, p. 82.

¹²³ *A Chief is a Chief*, p. 93.

¹²⁴ TNA, WO 95/4115, 15 October 1916; Jeffreys, 188.

¹²⁵ Webster, p. 10.

This chapter has focused on the encounters the men had with women in Britain and France; the absence of descriptions of women outside Europe beyond tourist narratives is indicative of how race created a boundary in the role these women could hold, designated only as sex workers. In the encounters with European women, civilian encounters have been revealed to fill a need for the serving troops, neither strictly sexual nor maternal, but with complex overlaps as the men sought comfort from the horrors of war. At the same time, existing racial hierarchies were brought into sharp contrast with the mobilisation of so much of the British Empire. The structure of the analysis has framed the racial context as a primary factor in how encounters with women were represented. The position of white women in safeguarding the future of the nation interacted with discourses about non-white sexuality and the perils of miscegenation. Many of the representations of non-white men's interactions with women, either in photographs or in the accounts of padres, determined their 'good behaviour' and unwillingness to transgress racial boundaries in their appropriate friendliness towards civilians. Interactions with women could also be expressions of whiteness; the accounts of the New Zealand and South African troops asserted their connections with white Britishness though they would happily be 'colonial' when it helped to attract female attention.

Yet, glimpses of sexual, romantic relationships, even marriages, between the troops of colour and white women challenge the prevailing discourses of racial segregation and platonic encounters designed to soothe imperial anxieties. Institutional racism still operated, yes, but personal experience undermined the discursive and official management of sexuality to retain colonial order. Control over individual encounter and sexual agency was less effective than military and national authorities would have the public believe. These frequent exceptions – for Maoris, West Indians and South Africans – significantly broadens the experience included in First World War narratives, the spaces they occupied and the people with whom they spent their service. Personal interactions between colonial troops and civilians could overcome discourses of racial division. The intersection of gender and race as encapsulated in

encounters with civilians revealed how the two categories could interact in complex nuanced ways, including with military status, and exist on their own terms.

The chapter has demonstrated, too, how encounters with women drew together categories of race and gender with nationality, military status and class in points of dense intersection and tensions. 'Khaki fever' extended to the black men of the BWIR as their uniforms included them in a visible military community where their status as non-combatants was obscured. Class allowed elites from the white dominions to move in social groups beyond the rank and file, meaning they could meet the 'nice' daughters of officers, creating difference within whiteness, though it remained the default, 'normal' racial status. Class and social status affected too how the men presented the women they encountered. Though the troops were often very kind about the women they met, their observations were framed in patriarchal language, particularly for those 'girls' seen to transgress gender roles and engage in unfeminine behaviours. As has already been reflected, the representations of these encounters by the men fail to account for female perspective on the massed incoming troops and the implications for social demographics and relations. In the next chapter, documents written by nurses are considered to more fully engage with the cross gender encounters that occurred during the war.

Chapter Six

On the Wards: Encounters in Hospital

In this final chapter, the encounters between the colonial troops and women are examined in a different contact zone – hospitals – to understand how the hospital space, with its defined roles of caregiver and patient, shaped these interactions across race and gender lines. Time in hospital resulted directly from the physical and psychological pains and traumas inflicted by war but it could also be a site for cross-cultural encounters as patients from diverse ethnic, national and class backgrounds came together. Writing from Woodcote Camp in Epsom in October 1915, New Zealander Henry Kitson described the convalescents there, numbering nearly 3000. ‘All a mixture, Canadians, Tommies, Australians, New Zealand, but we have separate huts.’¹ His fellow countryman Raymond Danvers Baker wrote about a hospital in Alexandria:

The hospital was a regular military unit, known officially as 21st General Hospital, staffed mostly by Irish and Scotch doctors and nurses, while most of the orderlies were Welshmen. There was a fair sprinkling of New Zealand, Australian and Canadian nurses as well, and as for the patients about 1200 of them came from all corners of the Empire. It was a pretty representative crowd.²

As Baker illustrated, hospitals were not solely the backdrop for interactions between the various patients who were sent there but also for ongoing relations between these patients and their nurses, who came both from Britain and the white dominions. Continuing the analysis from Chapter Five, this chapter examines the intersection of gender and race in the encounters between white, predominantly British, nurses and their colonial patients, both white and non-white.³ The experiences of white New Zealand soldiers and the black men of

¹ Kitson, 6 October 1915.

² Danvers Baker, p. 60.

³ The First World War changed the public function of nursing, with a huge increase in volunteers. By the First World War, women’s service as nurses for sick and wounded soldiers and sailors had been publicly recognised, with the institution of the decoration of the Royal Red Cross from 1893. From its foundation in 1909 up until 1914, around 50,000 women flocked to volunteer in the Volunteer Aid Detachment, a voluntary unit that provided field-nursing services. By 1920, the VAD had grown to ‘82,857; in August 1918, the number of women working with the BEF in France was 7,123 while Queen Mary’s Army Auxiliary Corps employed 7,808 women.’ Professional nurses, rather than

the British West Indies Regiment (BWIR) are examined to show how two distinct masculinities interacted with white British femininity.⁴ The New Zealanders and West Indians were sent to military hospitals in Britain, on the Western Front and in Egypt and Palestine. The hospitals in the latter included the six general hospitals in Alexandria, as well as the hospital ships that docked in the port.⁵ There were twenty-seven hospitals on Malta and hundreds of Advanced Dressing Stations, Casualty Clearing Stations and base hospitals on the Western Front. Back in England, hospitals were often situated on the South Coast to provide the most immediate care, which were frequently distinguished by nationality. In England, New Zealand had specific general hospitals at Brockenhurst (Hampshire), Walton-on-Thames (Surrey) and Codford (Wiltshire), with an Anzac convalescent depot in Weymouth (Dorset) between 1915 and 1916, and the officers and nurses' convalescent home at Brighton (Sussex). The BWIR hospital in Seaford, Sussex, was just 13 miles along the coast from the New Zealand convalescent home. The BWIR men were also sent to base hospitals in Brighton, site of the famous Indian hospital in the Pavilion, and in London.

The encounters that took place between nurses and their colonial patients in these hospitals were, understandably, carefully managed. By calling on the colonies and dominions to provide necessary manpower as both combatants and non-combatants, Britain was required

volunteers joined British nurses, from across the British Empire. More than 3,200 Australian women served in the Australian Army Nursing Service or with the British Nursing Services. Over 3,000 nurses served in the Canadian Army Medical Corps (CAMC), including 2,504 sent overseas. From New Zealand, six nurses left with the Advance Expeditionary Force on 15 August 1914. A total of 500 volunteered as part of the New Zealand Army Nursing Service, a quarter of the nursing workforce, as well as those who set off to England to offer their services. Among their numbers was Ethel Pritchard, a woman of Maori descent, who was a trained nurse with the first detachment, who left New Zealand on 8 April 1915. Anne Summers, *Angels and Citizens: British Women as Military Nurses, 1854-1914* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1988) p. 6; Santanu Das, *Touch and Intimacy in the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 185; Kirsty Harris, "'Grey Battalion': Launceston General Hospital Nurses on Active Service in World War I', *Health and History*, 10, 1 (2008), 21; Canadian War Museum <<http://www.warmuseum.ca/firstworldwar/history/people/in-uniform/nurses/>> [accessed: 1 October 2015]; H. McClean, 'New Zealand Army Nurses', *The War Effort of New Zealand* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1923), p. 87.

⁴ There is comparatively little evidence of the experience of Maori troops in hospital, who would have been treated alongside the other New Zealand troops, or the black men of the SANLC, who were kept in separate hospitals as non-white labourers.

⁵ The Alexandria (Hadra) War Memorial Cemetery in Egypt was the main burial site for patients who died at these hospitals. Commonwealth War Graves Commission <[http://www.cwgc.org/find-a-cemetery/cemetery/54600/Alexandria%20\(Hadra\)%20War%20Memorial%20Cemetery](http://www.cwgc.org/find-a-cemetery/cemetery/54600/Alexandria%20(Hadra)%20War%20Memorial%20Cemetery)> [accessed: 2 September 2016]

to extend its role as the benevolent and beneficent Mother Country to take imperial responsibility for the men who were mobilised.⁶ While medical personnel and funds for medical care were offered by the colonies as part of their broader contribution to the war, their participation on the empire's behalf created a particular sense of reciprocity and of British accountability for the health and welfare of the empire.⁷ At the broadest level, the caregiving in hospitals during the war had political and national importance as the spaces where the bodies of the troops of both Britain and her Empire were repaired. They served not only to continue supporting the war effort but also to uphold morale and the future of the empire.⁸ The colonial men were meant to be overwhelmed and awestruck with their contact with the centre, to maintain its existing order, and as demonstrated in Chapter Four, many were indeed overcome with finally seeing London.⁹ Yet their experiences of the horror and trauma of the battlefield on behalf of the empire posed a threat to their imperial loyalties, which needed to be repaired during their hospital stay along with their damaged bodies. Receiving poor treatment could be perceived as imperial neglect and could fuel anti-colonial sentiment. As Mark Harrison has argued, medicine had immense political significance during the First World War and 'lapses in medical care were often seized upon by opponents of British rule who attempted to spread seditious propaganda among imperial troops and labourers.'¹⁰ The care offered by nurses in hospital was essential for the building and maintenance of imperial ties.

Simultaneously, nurses operated within the same frameworks that dominated encounters between white women and non-white colonial troops that were explored in Chapter Five.

⁶ Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 42.

⁷ Andrew Macdonald described the strain placed on the New Zealand Medical Corps' units by the fighting during the Somme. Andrew Macdonald, 'An Awkward Salient: New Zealand Infantry on the Somme, 15 September 1916', *New Zealand's Great War* ed. by Crawford and McGibbon, p. 244. The material contributions offered by the West Indies, including eleven ambulances for the British Red Cross have been illustrated by Howe, *Race, War and Nationalism*, p. 4.

⁸ 'The wartime mutilated were regarded as the responsibility of the nation.' Bourke, p. 41.

⁹ David Omissi's collection of letters from Indian soldiers revealed how, even at hospital in Brighton in the grand setting of the Royal Pavilion, the men described England as a fine place: 'One should regard it as a fairyland.' David Omissi, *Indian Voices of the Great War: Soldiers' Letters, 1914-18* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), p. 27.

¹⁰ Mark Harrison, *The Medical War: British Military Medicine in the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 11.

Discourses about the ‘threatening’ masculinity and ‘predatory’ sexuality of non-white men, with a particular emphasis on the perceived sexual immorality of West Indian men, fanned racial anxieties around interracial mixing and there were policies in place to manage the sexual activities of non-white men and to prevent miscegenation. As has been previously established by Alison Fell and Philippa Levine, hospitals were particularly threatening because of the necessary physical interaction between colonial troops and white nurses. While authorities had attempted to limit the interactions that non-white troops, in particular, had with white women, in hospitals this was (almost) unavoidable: Levine has explored how women were withdrawn from the nursing staff of the Indian hospital in Brighton.¹¹ As such the ‘sexually predatory’ men who had been restricted from civilian contact would now be given the opportunity to interact with white women.¹² The ‘colonial nightmare of miscegenation’, as discussed in Chapter Five, was amplified by this unprecedented contact.¹³ The intimacy of caregiving in the wartime hospitals occurred in a specific social context, shaped by and shaping relations of race, class, gender and sexuality.¹⁴ The complex tensions of encounters that crossed boundaries of race and gender were transferred to the hospital space, making them a ‘messy and blurred liminal area’.¹⁵ While the ‘intimate labours’ required from nurses in hospitals explicitly excluded sexual relations, there remained what Levine has called ‘a powerful corporeal threat, a hint of possible interracial mixing’ in their physical care of the patients.¹⁶

The symbolic significance of nurses during the First World War added a further degree of tension to the politics of care. As has been demonstrated, white British women were invested with responsibility as bastions of white femininity to act as the boundary keepers who

¹¹ Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics*, p. 154.

¹² Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, p. 6.

¹³ Fell, ‘Nursing the Other’, p. 159.

¹⁴ *Intimate Labors: Cultures, Technologies, and the Politics of Care* ed. by Eileen Boris and Rhacel Salazar Parrenas (Stanford: Stanford Social Sciences, Stanford University Press, 2010), p. 1.

¹⁵ Angela Woollacott, *Gender and Empire* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 81.

¹⁶ Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics*, p. 154.

maintained the racial integrity of the empire, by not engaging in mixed race relationships.¹⁷ There were concerns about the ability of working-class women, in particular, to behave ‘properly’: the Defence of the Realm Acts and the introduction of women police revealing how the management of sexuality operated within white groups as well as non-white.¹⁸ While any interracial relationship with a white British woman was threatening to the racial order, nurses, usually from middle and upper class backgrounds, were invested with immense symbolism as an example of the nation and empire’s ‘flower of womanhood’, resilient amidst war’s chaos.¹⁹ Nursing was the ‘quintessential feminine war service’ – patriotic, requiring devotion and self-sacrifice.²⁰ The desired character of the military nurse, ladylike and ‘respectable’, needed to be maintained in the face of these interactions with men considered ‘other’.²¹ This was the “‘white women’s burden’” to assuage concerns about what Fell has called ‘white femininity in a colonial climate’.²² Certainly, anxieties about women in the colonies had restricted the role that white middle-class women had had as civilising agents in the colonial enterprise, though nurses in ‘the tropics’ took on this responsibility in the later nineteenth century.²³ As ‘agents of imperial hygiene’, the white British nurses who offered medical care and accompanied colonial campaigns had to maintain something of the domesticity of home life through their loyal service in these new and foreign places. This was done while facing tests to their womanhood: ‘extreme travelling and working conditions, physical proximity to white men and indigenous people’.²⁴ The First World War nurses faced the same potential transgressions of boundaries of ethnicity and race, as their work created physical intimacy with men, including troops of colour.

For women most especially, willingness in this regard was an instant badge of disrepute, a guarantee of inferiority. The nurse had to be protected from

¹⁷ McClintock, p. 6.

¹⁸ Levine, “‘Walking the Streets’”, 42.

¹⁹ Margaret H. Darrow, ‘French Volunteer Nursing and the Myth of War Experience in World War I’, *American Historical Review*, 101, 1 (1996), 82.

²⁰ Darrow, ‘French Volunteer Nursing’, 82.

²¹ Sharon Ouditt, *Fighting Forces, Writing Women. Identity and Ideology in the First World War* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 4.

²² Fell, ‘Nursing the Other’, p. 158.

²³ J. Howell, A. M. Rafferty, R. Wall, A. Snaith, ‘Nursing the tropics: nurses as agents of imperial hygiene’, *Journal of Public Health*, 32, 2 (2013) 338.

²⁴ Howell et al, ‘Nursing the tropics’, 338.

that stain, since she was so important a wartime symbol of feminine sacrifice and nurture.²⁵

Though nurses were recruited from the middle and upper classes, believed to be ‘superior’ and more moral than working-class women, their behaviour was still scrutinised.²⁶

The caring for and nursing of white and non-white colonial bodies – intimate labour – was a source of anxiety that threatened both white masculinity and white femininity. Both white women and colonial non-white men had the ‘potential to disrupt the binary assumptions upon which white imperial masculinity was constructed’: their roles as nurses and as soldiers (though often in name only) had already begun to challenge the stability of imperial structures and the racial order.²⁷ In hospitals, these two groups were brought together in an intimate and unstable setting, where caregiving relied on closeness. Even the military order was different as the men as patients were somewhere between civilian and soldier status, temporarily or permanently rendered ‘unfit’ for active service while the hospital staff, including their nurses, could be ranked as officers. The chapter examines how discourses of miscegenation and white prestige interacted with imperial responsibility as part of a patriarchal system, which had very clear ideas about white femininity and its limits. How did the nurses who experienced unparalleled contact with colonial troops, both white and non-white, ‘protect’ their reputations as they recounted their services in their letters and diaries? In her examination of ‘nurse-narrators’, Fell has argued that while some nurses reproduced colonial clichés, others expressed a fascination with colonial bodies and some further began to

²⁵ Levine, *Prostitution, Race, and Politics*, p. 154.

²⁶ Darrow, ‘French Volunteer Nursing’, 83. Class played a prominent role in the story of British First World War nursing with a clear distinction between the Volunteer Aid Detachment nurses and those who had chosen nursing as a profession, like the trained professional nurses from the British Dominions. In Britain, trained nurses ‘tended to come from families who were considered middle class but who were without the financial resources to support unmarried daughters.’ VADs were predominantly middle- or upper- class amateurs. The conflation of class, character and service assumed that ‘upper- and middle-class women, by dint of their “character” and “breeding”, were more fit to serve and represent the country than working-class women.’ The ‘ladylike’ behaviour necessitated from nurses, and assumed to be true of elite and educated young women, was tallied with a moral superiority, which excluded the working class. Janet S. K. Watson, ‘Wars in the Wards: The Social Construction of Medical Work in First World War Britain’, *Journal of British Studies*, 41, 4 (2002), 450; Janet S. K. Watson, ‘Khaki Girls, VADs, and ‘Tommy’s Sisters: Gender and Class in First World War Britain’, *The International History Review*, 19, 1 (1997), 33; Das, *Touch and Intimacy*, p. 185; Ouditt, p. 4.

²⁷ Fell, ‘Nursing the Other’, p. 159.

question racist and imperialistic assumptions.²⁸ The chapter compares the experiences of New Zealand troops and West Indian troops in hospital, including those of some of the women who nursed them. Using the accounts of both nurses and patients, I build on Fell's argument and examine how the representations of hospital encounters navigated and complicated these tensions and produced fractured and layered subjectivities.

By separating the analysis between colonial encounters within and across the colour line, I do not intend to enforce an artificial binary but to move beyond a straightforward understanding of 'racism' in these encounters to understand what fuelled the varying responses: historical and social associations and conditioning, class, ethnicity, prestige, anxiety. While the New Zealanders and the nurses were both white, the nature of their interactions in hospital still relied upon the negotiation of existing discourses about the character of nurses and imperial responsibility. A range of genres are analysed here, more so than in the other chapters: autograph books, poetry and short stories, alongside letters, diaries and newspapers.²⁹ Due to the paucity of West Indian letters and diaries, the other sources are used to supplement their own accounts of experience to give as much depth to the analysis as possible. The wide variety of source material is differentiated within the discussion and care has been taken to attend to the specificity of the source and its influence on the representation.

Encounters between white nurses and white patients

The relationships between white nurses and their white colonial patients were not scrutinised in the same way that the care of non-white colonials was. The 'corporeal threat' of miscegenation was not a factor. But the interactions of white colonials, in this case the New Zealand troops, were also subject to discourses that framed how the encounters with their

²⁸ Fell, 'Nursing the Other', p. 166.

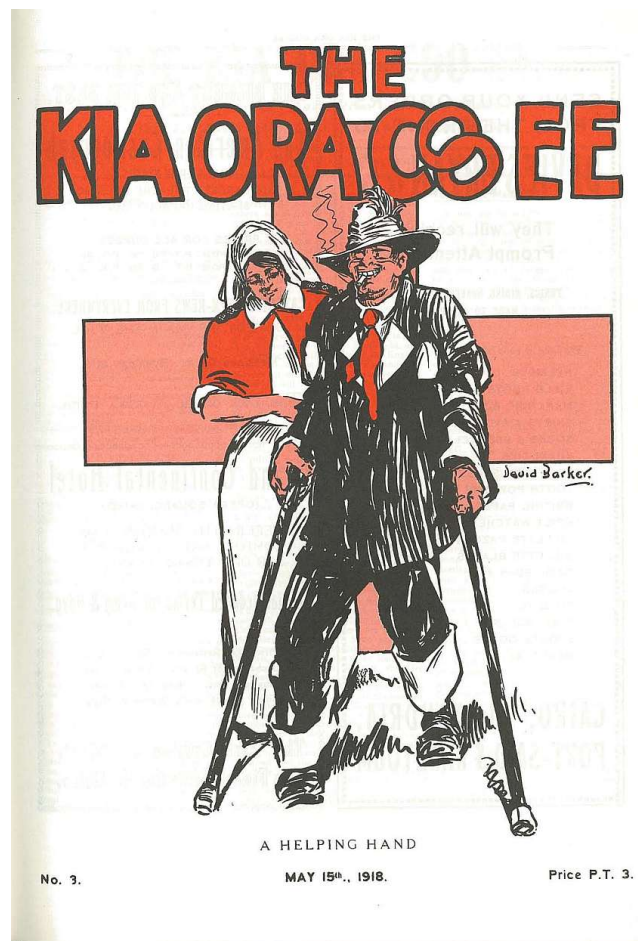
²⁹ Autograph books are a unique genre: signed by the patients just before they left the wards, the narrative is determined not by the author, as Santanu Das has commented, but by the addressee. As such, as well as sketches and cartoons designed to make the addressee laugh, more sentimental declarations and farewells feature in them, sharing some of the characteristics of troop magazines. Much like the familiar platitude of the greeting card poem, the genre of the autograph book provided 'a formal language that legitimises the articulation of intimacy'. Das, *Touch and Intimacy*, p. 178.

nurses should occur. There was still imperial responsibility for these colonial troops and the nurses who treated them were meant to present an idea of respectable British womanhood in spite of the intimacy of the labour these women performed. Though there were not concerns about racial differences, the interactions between the white colonials and their white nurses could cross the boundaries of social discourse and lead to more personal and emotional interactions. Within the intimacy of the hospital space, were the romantic liaisons of New Zealanders with civilians further developed? This section focuses on the New Zealand soldiers in hospitals to examine their encounters with their nurses. I use the troop magazine, the *Kia Ora Coo-Ee* to establish the social discourses around these interactions, before turning to the personal accounts of both New Zealand soldiers and some of the nurses who treated them to reveal the more complex dynamics between them.

The *Kia Ora Coo-Ee*, like the many other troop magazines produced during the war, offered an outlet for the cultural outpourings of the serving troops from New Zealand and Australia, where their poetry, short stories, articles, sketches and cartoons could be published.³⁰ Presenting a snapshot of communicable experience to families reading copies sent home, the magazine included reflections of time in hospital. The nature of recovery, with long periods of rest and leisure, provided the ideal opportunity for longer creative projects. The cover of the May 1918 issue, drawn by David C. Barker showed an Anzac soldier getting a 'Helping Hand' from one of the nurses.³¹ Though the soldier looks war-weary, he retains his 'Anzac' liveliness, with a cigarette in his mouth and the recognisable 'lemon squeezer' hat of the New Zealand troops. He is already back on his feet with the help of the supportive nurse, demonstrating the thorough care received though avoiding any explicit details of injury.

³⁰ The magazine was produced in Egypt and Palestine in 1918 and 1919, named respectively for the recognisable greetings of the New Zealanders and Australians in the Anzac forces. It was printed through a commercial printing establishment in Cairo, which allowed for the production of a professional service magazine with the longest and most regular record of publication during the war.

³¹ David C. Barker was the art editor for the magazine. He was an Australian who had enlisted in April 1915. 'David C. Barker' <<http://pikitiapress.blogspot.co.uk/2011/08/david-c-barker.html>> [accessed: 29 August 2016].



‘A Helping Hand’.³²

The image is intended to be humorous – a jovial impression of the injuries suffered by the New Zealanders, which hides the extent of suffering experienced during the war – the ideal reassurance for families’ reading at home. The nurse is presented as attentive and helpful: she looks experienced and motherly as she assisted the soldier. This image of the nurse as mother, or a quasi-maternal caregiver, recurred throughout the magazine. As with the civilian encounters in Chapter Five, contact with women offered the men an opportunity to receive the motherly affections which war had taken them away from.³³ Maternal imagery and rhetoric in stories of French nursing have been particularly associated with convalescent homes where ‘the wounded were always *petits* and the nurse’s job was to wait on them, scold

³² *The Kia Ora Coe: The Magazine For The Anzacs In The Middle East*, 1, (1918).

³³ Markovits, p. 47.

them and “spoil them” with treats and attention.³⁴ Poems written by the men in the magazine offered dedications to their nurses and were often couched in the language of mother and child – a safe dynamic through which the intimacy of care could be channelled. Pat Murphy’s poem ‘Sister’, in the *Kia Ora Coo-Ee* in 1918, was devoted to one particular nurse; ‘Oh Sister, A ministering Angel, oh art thou, Who soothes the hot and fevered brow, It is to thee we humbly bow, Dear Sister.’³⁵ Though revealing the emotional connection between soldier and nurse, Murphy included a more prosaic line about the sister ‘who sees that you have tidy hair, your face gets washed, your bed’s made square’, looking after the soldier in much the same way a mother would.³⁶ The poem ‘In Hospital’, by an anonymous Anzac ‘Koolawarra’ in Palestine in the third issue of the *Kia Ora Coo Ee*, showed how the women looking after them often evoked memories of their mothers:

Gentle sister, in your white and grey.
Will you listen till to you I’ve told
How you wondrous way makes my memory stray
To another such as you, tho’ old
And silvered, little girl, not gold! ³⁷

Like soothing ‘the hot and fevered brow’, ‘wondrous ways’ is a vague and ambiguous term which managed to avoid explicit references to medical care beyond that which might be administered by a mother, providing comfort and solace rather than directly related to pain or suffering. The ‘silvered’ other clearly refers to the poet’s own mother, whose careful treatment of her child was echoed by the young nurse, inspiring memories of being at home.

Other genres within the *Kia Ora Coo-Ee* were more playful with the quasi-maternal relationships that developed between white colonial troops and their nurses. In ‘Our Sisters’, a satirical essay, the unknown author asked,

Have you ever met the Sister-With-The-Bed-Making-Mania? She starts early in the morning and makes all the beds, and then spends half of the remainder of the day making them again—the other half being employed in pulling them to pieces. However nicely you make your own bed, it is absorbed in the general

³⁴ Darrow, ‘French Volunteer Nursing’, 102.

³⁵ *The Kia Ora Coo-Ee: The Magazine For The Anzacs In The Middle East*, 1, (1918).

³⁶ *The Kia Ora Coo-Ee: The Magazine For The Anzacs In The Middle East*, 1, (1918).

³⁷ *The Kia Ora Coo-Ee: The Magazine For The Anzacs In The Middle East*, 3, (1918).

remaking process, and you find your best plan is to tidy your bed once, and then retire to the veranda for a day's rest.³⁸

The Sister-With-The-Bed-Making-Mania was accompanied by the Sister-Who-Will-Stand-No-Nonsense, who 'effectually silences the frivolous youth' and the Night-Sister-Who-Must-See-That-You're-Asleep, who constantly interrupts the sleeping soldier with cough medicine, checking and tucking in. There were very few remarks on the personalities of these women; their character traits were based solely on their actions towards the soldiers, which could be seen to replicate maternal manners. The implication of the actions of all these sisters was to infantilise the soldier, taking charge of their belongings, their behaviour and their care. This infantilisation of patients was a recurring trope in soldiers' accounts from all backgrounds, which will be further drawn out in the encounters between white nurses and black patients, to explore how racial discourses nuanced this dynamic. The troop magazines demonstrated deep investment in the nurse as a maternal caregiver, providing comfort as well as treatment, which reinforced the benevolence of the British Empire in taking care of the wounded troops. The consistent representation of the nurse as mothers of some kind set up a boundary within the social discourses about the relationships that the men could have with their nurses. These were intimate encounters, but they were carefully contained within the caring actions of the nurses, rather than emotional interactions.

The troops' construction of social discourse in the *Kia Ora Coo-Ee* confirmed the notion of nurses as mothers or angels in the nurse-patient encounter and there were echoes, too, in the troops' own representations. New Zealander James Williamson described four days in a Canadian hospital: 'I could have stayed there for four months [...] the nurses and sisters – all Canadians – couldn't do enough for me and I didn't like leaving it.'³⁹ William Redmayne described his nurses at Malta in an oral history interview: 'we were there in hospital quite a while. The English nurses were splendid. They were really outstanding.'⁴⁰ Again, these depictions relied upon the actions of the women as a whole, rather than any of the individual

³⁸ *The Kia Ora Coo-Ee: The Magazine For The Anzacs In The Middle East*, 4, (1918).

³⁹ Williamson, p. 38.

⁴⁰ William Redmayne, *An Awfully Big Adventure*, ed. by Tolerton, p. 64.

relationships that the men developed with them. The one exception in the popular representations of the troop magazine was the final character in 'Our Sisters': 'The 'Perfectly-Dinkum-Sister, or the Dinkumly-Perfect-Sister'.

Small, fair, soft pink complexion, always cheerful, bubbling over with life and high spirits, calls you "Boy", doesn't care if your locker's untidy, rejoices with you in your triumphs, condones your faults, and is sorry when you go away; in fact, is a good pal all the time.⁴¹

The 'perfect' sister was attractive and happy, and did not mother the boys but treated them like a 'pal', who did not fuss but kept them company. There was an air of flirtation in this representation – in the nurse's playful, though still somewhat maternal, use of 'Boy' – that suggested genuine romantic potential. Though the men's pain and trauma moderated the intimacy of contact between nurses and patients, their interactions were not as strictly asexual as might have been hoped from those whose profession relied upon their good 'character'.⁴² In the New Zealand soldiers' letters and diaries, the men's understandings of their encounters with nurses were also based on flirtatious and emotional connections. William Redmayne talked about those who nursed them in his oral history interview:

Were they VADs? They were mostly. We called them Various Assorted Darlings. They were younger than the nurses.⁴³

The VADs' youth and class accentuated their appeal, friends with the patients as well as nurses. The relationships between the New Zealanders and their nurses was particularly intimate in the case of encounters with VADs, often younger than the trained nurses and expected to be single.⁴⁴ In a letter home, Randolph Gray described spending a 'most successful afternoon tea with three VAD girls from one of the hospitals here' during his time in France.⁴⁵ In his diary, Francis Healey described the Australian sisters on his ambulance train to Rouen as 'pals' and 'very nice girls'.⁴⁶ While these interactions were based on more social circumstances, the feminine appeal of the nurses was also bound up in the care they gave. In

⁴¹ *The Kia Ora Coe-Ee: The Magazine For The Anzacs In The Middle East*, 4, (1918).

⁴² Das, *Touch and Intimacy*, p. 185.

⁴³ William Redmayne, *An Awfully Big Adventure*, ed. by Tolerton, p. 64.

⁴⁴ Watson, 'Gender and Class', 35.

⁴⁵ Gray, 15 October 1917.

⁴⁶ Healey, 28 April 1915.

an oral history interview, Martin Brooke described, many years after his return from the war, the sensual and feminine means by which his pain was relieved, through voice and touch.

“Oh you’ll be all right, soldier.” That lovely silky hand coming over combined with the ice - what a relief it was. They put their cold hand on your cheek. You were fascinated. You thought, what lovely girls they are. “Come on soldier, you’ll be alright.”⁴⁷

Brooke’s testimony does not address the specificity of his injury or pain, only the relief he felt at the nurse’s stroking of his face. Their feminine features and ‘loveliness’ stuck in his mind.

Military nurses firmly believed that ‘direct tactile contact’ was important to soothe patients and relieve their psychological pain.⁴⁸ This touch, though, seems to have had more significance for the men. As Katie Holmes has commented, nurses became the ‘blank bodies’ onto which the men could project their sexual fantasies, as well as acting as mothers.⁴⁹ Just as in civilian encounters with women, there were multiple degrees of appeal about nurses – able to both embody maternal comfort and offer friendship or more through their care. This was true of other white colonial accounts – South African Brian Wade’s experience at the Duchess of Westminster’s hospital at Le Touquet was a ‘grand time’:

The sisters and V.A.D.s were very jolly and attentive. Here in London, they are not too bad, but somehow seem more reserved. Still, we find them very nice to look at after having seen nothing but hairy men in uniform for so long.⁵⁰

Wade went on to write home that ‘the Sisters and Nurses are very nice here, especially two of them, but I have not yet found one of my own, but you may rest assured that I will tell you all about her when I do happen to meet one that suits.’⁵¹ This sense of a relationship developing between soldier and nurse, in the midst of the conflict, is deeply romanticised and serves to offset any concern from his family. It also revealed how feasible marriage between white colonial troops and nurses could be. The photograph of the Anzac soldier and his nurse war bride in Chapter Five indicated the deep connection that could be fostered between nurses

⁴⁷ Martin Brooke, *An Awfully Big Adventure* ed. by Tolerton, p. 78.

⁴⁸ Kirsty Harris, “‘All for the Boys’: The Nurse-Patient Relationship of Australian Army Nurses in the First World War”, *First World War Nursing: New Perspectives* ed. by Fell and Hallet, p. 75.

⁴⁹ Katie Holmes, ‘Day mothers and night sisters: World War I nurses and sexuality’, *Gender and War: Australians at War in the Twentieth Century* ed. by Joy Damousi and Marilyn Lake (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 44.

⁵⁰ Wade, 26 September 1917.

⁵¹ Wade, 14 October 1917.

and their patients, though we do not know the proportion of the war brides who were also nurses. Clearly, the encounters between white colonial patients and white nurses went beyond the strictures of their professional roles.

In the letters and diaries of the nurses who treated the white dominion troops, there was not the same reflection on the feminine fascination that they held for the men, as might be expected. When they wrote in depth about individual patients, this was frequently restricted to descriptions of specific injuries or the pain they suffered and how they cared for them. As established, this could be the intimate, feminine care that the men reflected upon – holding hands, massaging heads and kissing temples – which was a distinctive part of military nursing. The nurses suggested more ongoing relations with their patients in descriptions of their social activities beyond the hospital, where they were off duty.⁵² Miss M. Tuckett, a Canadian nurse who served at the New Zealand Hospital and the No. 21 General Hospital in Egypt from July 1915 to July 1916, made the most of the social facilities of Cairo, echoing the tourist descriptions of the men on leave. She seemed to have much more time away from the hospital than the nurses who served on the Western Front. Her period in Egypt was during the Gallipoli Campaign where urgent cases were taken to Malta or on board hospital ships before being returned to Cairo and Alexandria. Her excursions included having tea and supper at many of the hotels and teashops, with other military personnel and former patients. In her diary she described that she and fellow nurse ‘Miss Weiss took a gharry to the Summer Palace Hotel for tea and had it with Major Lloyd from Australia.’⁵³ She went to tea at Groppi’s on several occasions with her ‘ex-patients’ as she called them and was also invited to dinner on the officers’ ward of the hospital.⁵⁴ Even in her private diary, Nurse Tuckett never suggested that these were anything more than social occasions or that she formed any particular romantic attachments, though her entries reveal that some of the other nurses who served alongside her seemed to have regular dates with the soldiers stationed nearby. Outside

⁵² Holmes, p. 52.

⁵³ IWM, Documents 11751, Diary of Miss M. L. P. Tuckett, 17 October 1915.

⁵⁴ Tuckett, 6 November 1915, 30 November 1915.

their professional roles in the hospital, these women were able to engage with the men in a relatively freer manner.

While the nurses and patients had ‘whiteness’ in common, the colonial identities of the men and their national differences from the nurses deserve attention. As suggested in Chapter Five, New Zealand soldiers drew both upon their Britishness and close, even familial, connections to the Mother Country, and on their ‘colonial’ and national sensibilities: they were both inside and outside the centre. William Redmayne’s testimony was the only account that made explicit the distinctions between his nurses’ nationalities. At the hospital in Malta he described how ‘the New Zealand nurses came and they were ranked as officers, and they were inclined to throw their weight around a bit, whereas these English girls were just nice.’⁵⁵ The ‘English girls’ were VADs and so this distinction seemed to rest on the authority given to the New Zealand nurses as ranked professionals, which challenged how the men related to them as equals. Previous work has illustrated how important the nationality of colonial nurses could be to their patients, especially when they were from the same place. Kirsty Harris discusses how significant Australian Army Nurses were for the healing and recuperation of Australian soldiers during the First World War. The nurses used their home knowledge to ‘comfort, pacify, and amuse their Australian patients, particularly in British hospitals where the AIF were in the minority.’⁵⁶ The nurses provided mementos, home foods and newspapers with Australian news. Through their shared nationality the nurses acted as ‘sisters’ to the men and negotiated their position at war, able to engage with the men as both patients and soldiers without their own sexual morality being questioned.⁵⁷ Shared nationality might reaffirm to the men, too, how fully their own countries were contributing to the war effort, rather than relying on the provisions made by Britain.

⁵⁵ William Redmayne, *An Awfully Big Adventure*, ed. by Tolerton, p. 64.

⁵⁶ Harris, “All for the Boys”, pp. 77-78.

⁵⁷ Holmes, p. 51.

Certainly, comments from both the nurses and the soldiers in their letters and diaries indicated that those from the same nationality were frequently glad to see each other. Marjorie Starr, a Canadian nurse who served with the Scottish Women's Hospital in the Abbaye du Royaumont, was disappointed that she had missed an opportunity to see the Canadian hospital at Trémont:

A woman that was here visiting her husband says that she hear today from a friend in Tréport that there were thousands of Canadians there and a Canadian hospital also. I wish I had known that, you know we went to Tréport on our wonderful journey on the military train from Boulogne to Paris, although it isn't the direct route at all.⁵⁸

New Zealand nurse Elsie Grey was particularly pleased to be stationed at the New Zealand Hospital in Codford in the Wyle Valley, south of Salisbury Plain. One of her patients remembered her from when she 'was was a little kid going to the Convent in Green Street.'⁵⁹ She commiserated with the men stationed at nearby Sling Camp and wrote about how very few of them were keen to leave the hospital.⁶⁰ When she travelled to France in 1917, her train passed through Étaples, which was 'all New Zealanders':

We waved frantically at them through the carriage windows. We had great difficulty in keeping Huddlestons' legs in –she was nearly headfirst out several times.⁶¹

This overt enthusiasm at the sight of the men was permitted because it was bound within their shared nationality. Grey was stationed at the New Zealand No. 1 Stationary Hospital in Amiens but most of her patients were British: 'really in my heart of hearts I wish they were the New Zealand boys.'⁶² For the men's part, George Thomson from Auckland wrote home in June 1915 that '50 New Zealand nurses arrived from England on their way to Egypt. Tickled to death to meet we New Zealand boys here. Sorry did not know any of them.'⁶³ Though Thomson was disappointed to not meet any nurse he knew from 'home', the distinct and overwhelmingly positive response that Harris has described seems only to come from the women rather than the men. Instead, the New Zealand men's experiences of encounters with

⁵⁸ IWM, Documents 8011-10, Diary of Miss Marjorie Starr, 11 September 1915.

⁵⁹ IWM, Documents 12213, Letters of Elsie Grey, 23 October 1916.

⁶⁰ Grey, 30 December 1916.

⁶¹ Grey, January 1917.

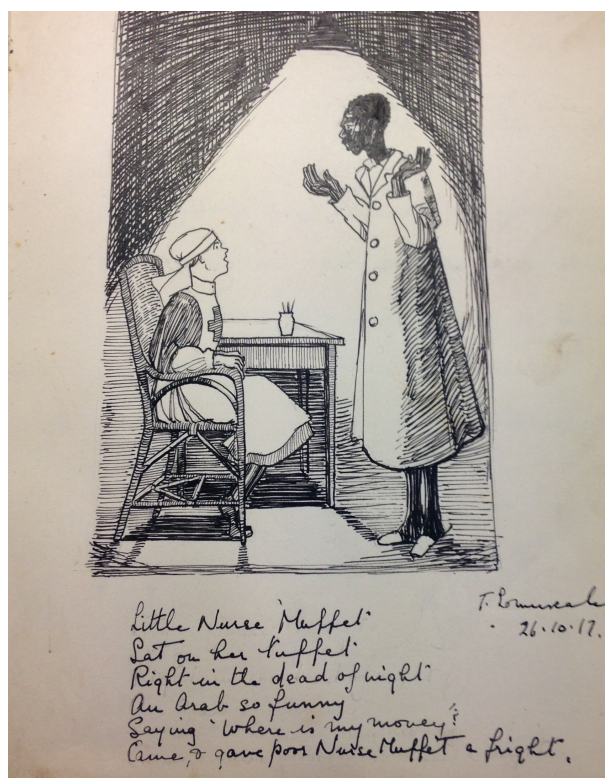
⁶² Grey, January 1917.

⁶³ AWMM, MS 2003-72, Papers of George Thomson, 12 June 1915.

nurses seem shaped by the women's class and rank, with particular preference for the VADs – who were closer in age to the men and less inclined to mother them. The maternal impulse of the nurses was welcomed by many of the New Zealand men, dedicating poetry to these women who reminded them of home through the care they offered, rather than any national connection. The strictures of nursing care were challenged by the intersection of genders in the hospital space. Where the popular representations of nurses rarely commented on the feminine charm of these women, both the men's and women's personal accounts reveal a more intimate contact.

Encounters between white nurses and non-white patients

Where the relationships between white colonial patients and white nurses subverted the intended function of the hospital space to a degree, the encounters between white nurses and non-white patients were altogether more challenging. As established, both white women and non-white men could challenge the colonial and patriarchal order, especially through the bodily threat of miscegenation, in stark contrast to the permitted tactility of military nursing between white nurses and white patients. A cartoon, found in the autograph book of a nurse who served at hospitals in London and Seaford, Sussex offers an entry point into these encounters. Rather than offering a 'helping hand', the overtly racist presentation of the relationship between nurse and non-white patient depicts an 'Arab' frightening 'Nurse Muffet' on the night shift, looking for his money. The non-white patient loomed over his nurse, looking for money that may have been confiscated or stored for safekeeping— resting on tropes of 'greedy' and 'sneaky' Arab men – while she was visibly startled by his presence, emerging from the dark ward. This was not the nurse's record of the encounter but a cartoon drawn by one of her other patients, probably white, intended for her amusement.



Extract from one of two nurse's autograph books.⁶⁴

In this depiction, white femininity's 'prestige' was protected as the nurse recoiled from the 'otherness' of the non-white colonial patient, physically maintaining racial divisions. The cartoon is a reminder of how these relationships were observed and recorded by the white men who were also patients in these hospitals, acting as symbols of the white masculinity threatened by the crossing of interracial boundaries. It revealed, too, the associated homosocial rivalry of racism, as the cartoonist depicted the inferiority of this non-white competitor for white women's affection. The racism of the cartoon does not mean that the nurses themselves were racist but suggests the racial tensions present in their encounters with non-white colonial patients, including the men of the BWIR.

The visual representation of this white nurse and her non-white patient raises themes of vulnerability, threat, prestige and the racial boundaries of colonial relations in hospitals. This

⁶⁴ IWM, Documents 13639, Nurses' Autograph Books from 4th London General Hospital and Surrey Home Military Hospital, Seaford, Sussex.

section follows the structure of the last, establishing the social discourses in public or official histories of these encounters before comparing them with personal and private representations of these relationships. I explore the nurses' accounts of their encounters with a range of non-white troops in letters and diaries and then those few accounts of the BWIR men, to probe further the politics of care in intimate spaces. Due to the paucity of West Indian representations of war experience alternative genres, including autograph books, are drawn into the analysis. The investigation of both nurses' reactions to non-white patients and the non-white men's responses to their nurses builds on Alison Fell's work that examined the narratives of French and British nurses about the white nurse/non-white patient encounter. Fell has revealed numerous tropes within the nursing narratives: ranging from the loyal and childish soldier to exotic 'types' or the potentially 'savage native', while the nurses were maternal figures or the 'benevolent civilisers' of colonial discourse.⁶⁵ I argue that these tropes interacted with each other within nursing narratives, revealing how nurses' perspectives changed and evolved through their contact with non-white patients. I argue, too, that some of these tropes can be found within representations of patient experience, both publicly and more privately, which reveal the careful ways that perceptions of these encounters were managed.

Official histories recorded the maltreatment and neglect of non-white colonial combatants and labourers, particularly in the case of the BWIR. Lieutenant Colonel Wood-Hill, who commanded the 1st BWIR during their time in Egypt and Palestine, vehemently criticised the treatment of West Indian men by medics during the war.

It is on record that several men have died from sheer neglect in No. 6 Native Labour Hospital, where Regular soldiers of the West India Regiment, of the two Battalions from Egypt, and the Service and Labour battalions in France and Italy were treated. A cemetery wherein are buried 300 West Indians, where not a tree, shrub or flower has been planted, bears eloquent testimony to the state of affairs as regards this hospital and to the unchristian attitude adopted to these men whether dead or alive.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Fell, 'Nursing the Other', p. 160.

⁶⁶ Wood-Hill, p. 11

The barrenness of this setting, in Taranto, Southern Italy in 1918, where no attempt was made to make the only functional cemetery a more human space is stark. The hospital was widely condemned – an Irish soldier who worked there described it as ‘composed of tents and mud, mostly mud. It is the worst place I have dropped into since leaving France’.⁶⁷

Though Wood-Hill’s report referred to West Indian men who had seen active combat, I suggest that the distinction of the men as labourers in this hospital was part of their maltreatment. The broader racism experienced by the West Indians at Taranto fuelled their mutiny just days after the Irishman’s letter, again revealing the political implications of the medical care of colonial troops. Frank Cundall, a historian of Jamaica and the First World War, recorded too, the poor conditions of the hospital at Seaford, Sussex. ‘The Hospital accommodation and supply of medicines was unfortunately inadequate, and many men died of pneumonia and similar diseases’.⁶⁸ As the site of the BWIR military camp from January 1916, the Seaford hospital frequently dealt with illnesses contracted on the journey or by unnecessary exposure to the cold British winter through inadequate supplies of clothing.

Witness accounts of West Indian treatment in hospital focused on the personal conduct of medical staff when they dealt with non-white men. These could add details to the official narratives of neglect. New Zealander Tom Lane’s oral testimony included his time in a hospital in Malta, having been evacuated from Gallipoli, where he and an English corporal discovered a black Jamaican soldier elsewhere in the tent.

You never saw such a mess in all your life. He’d messed himself. He’d been there four days. He had a thigh wound, a lump taken out of his thigh with a shell. He was in agony. There were maggots all over the wound, and the doctor told us it was just as well they were there because they were eating all the pus and helping to keep him alive. So this corporal and I got to work and took him out of bed on to the floor and took the whole bed out, and I asked a Canadian nurse - she worked in a different part of the marquee - if I could get a new bed and bedclothes. The head nurse came along and said, “Who’s looking after this nigger?” I said, ‘Excuse me, but he’s a human being.’ She said, ‘might be to

⁶⁷ Libraries Northern Ireland, 73- EAG-020-002, Letter from Joseph Eagleton, 4 December 1918 <<http://www.librariesni.org.uk/LibrarymenofWW1/Pages/LetterDetails.aspx?LID=EAG-020>> [accessed: 15 August 2016]

⁶⁸ Cundall, p. 28.

you, but not to me. We only treat whites. We don't bother about niggers.' The Canadian nurse took the job on.⁶⁹

The head nurse who did not 'bother' with black men framed her glaring negligence as a tool to protect the white prestige of the nurses in this hospital, in a deeply unsettling encounter. By only treating white men, the nurses' maintained their respectability and prevented any of the bodily contact that might suggest racial mixing – the Canadian nurse's behaviour was exceptional. This was the enactment of racism at its most fundamental level, determining medical care based only on skin colour. Life was cheap in wartime, individuals becoming numbers on casualty lists, bodies to be replaced by further recruitment, but the value of these black West Indian lives, treated as labourers rather than soldiers, seems to have been even lower. These recorded incidences of neglect remain politically potent in the remembered contributions of West Indian men and other non-white troops. The lack of care offered by the British authorities revealed the inadequacies and the flaws of the imperial system, which, alongside unfair remuneration and lack of pension support, undermined the supposed benevolence of the Mother Country and fuelled anti-colonial sentiment.⁷⁰

At the same time, other representations of West Indian treatment offered more positive reflections on the black men's time in hospital. Alfred Horner, padre with the BWIR, once again acted as a witness to the encounters of the troops in his care, writing for public audiences as his reflections were serialised in the press. Horner described how his men were treated in hospital:

Immediately, if he is at all civil and obliging, he becomes the pet and plaything of both inmates and staff, and more than one boy has regretted the fact that he has recovered and had to return to his unit and has no longer the pleasures of hospital society.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Tom Lane, *An Awfully Big Adventure* ed. by Tolerton, p. 208.

⁷⁰ Issues of employment, welfare, land and political enfranchisement were linked to the 'unrewarded contribution' of the BWIR. Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 152. War pensions in New Zealand had been authorised by the New Zealand government under the War Pensions Act of 1915. Melanie Nolan, "Keeping New Zealand Home Fired Burning": Gender, Welfare and the First World War', ed. by Crawford and McGibbon, *New Zealand's Great War*, p. 501.

⁷¹ Horner, p. 51.

The men's treatment as patients was conditional – much like the polite and obliging behaviour of the BWIR men in Horner's descriptions of civilian encounters – rather than an immediate response to their service. 'Good', restrained behaviour transformed the perception of black men from supposed savagery – uncivilised or even dangerously predatory in their sexuality – to a child-like state of innocence: playful, innocuous and naïve, able to be indulged.⁷² This black man slipped from one colonial category of inferiority to another. The novelty of blackness and its historical associations with being subordinate and 'uncivilised' created a specific form of infantilisation, which, though white soldiers were also infantilised, had more political traction in the black interactions with nurses. The transition to this status, either voluntary or enforced, was a method by which the men themselves could manage their own discourses: adopting a less dangerous but still colonial persona to ensure good treatment. Of course, this view was presented by a white British man whose own depictions of the BWIR relied not only on his status as padre but also the racial dynamics of colonialism, and therefore it must be treated with caution. Rather than the amused responses of the New Zealanders to being treated like children, a state of affairs that they maintained control over, Horner's categorisation of the West Indian patients as 'pet and plaything' betrayed a controlling, paternalistic force at play.

Encounters between white nurses and black patients, specifically West Indian men, were heavily bound by racial distinctions. These manifested in the negligence they were subject to in medical facilities, enacted by official institutions or by individual staff members, as in Lane's account of the ill-treatment of the West Indians. Equally, even the positive treatment of the men in hospital relied upon their acceptance of racial and colonial inferiority, acting as children or playthings to access 'the pleasures of hospital society.'⁷³ I turn now to nurses' accounts to explore how they negotiated racial difference in their treatment of non-white colonial troops. Alison Mullineaux, a Canadian, was somewhere between the British and

⁷² Ashis Nandy explores more fully the changing sense of childhood in its application to colonial subjects of colour, and the dichotomy between childish and childlike in *The Intimate Enemy. Love and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 32.

⁷³ Horner, p. 51.

French Empires, French-speaking but with many British ties, who served as a nurse's aid in the American Red Cross with the French 'Service de Santé'. The collection of her wartime papers, held at IWM, includes a photograph showing her next to two of her Senegalese patients.



Photograph of Alison Mullineaux.⁷⁴

Mullineaux's stance was officer-like and professional, commanding the image from its centre, and she seems almost indifferent in her pose and her distance from the men: there is no intimacy between them in this rather formal photograph. It was her white uniform, almost bleached in the photograph's exposure, which provided a remarkable contrast to the men's blackness and their dark uniforms. Though a very different image from the cartoon discussed above, what is still evident is a degree of distancing, both emotional and physical, between Mullineaux and the black men with no contact.

In contrast to the visual record, the textual record of Mullineaux's diary revealed what the photograph obscured. While the Senegalese troops were kept in a different ward, she had regular contact with them and her work with French colonial troops included bathing and dressing the eyes of Senegalese troops who had been gassed:

⁷⁴ IWM Documents 6867, Private Papers of Mrs Alison Mullineaux.

One of the negroes died from gas. Most of them are slight cases, and much better after their eyes were washed free of matter, and beginning to walk about.⁷⁵

Her initial perceptions about her Senegalese patients was their ‘savagery’, drawing on the trope of the ‘ferocious’ and ‘uncivilised’ colonial soldier:

We were told the French colonial troops [...] had been known to bite! But we found them like children. My first coloured patient told us he had three wives! We used to tease him and ask which one he liked best – but he would just laugh a silly laugh.⁷⁶

The man’s three wives could be taken as a further indication of his sexual ‘animalism’ and ‘immorality’ but was mitigated by the teasing way in which the nurses treated him. The ‘silly laugh’ of the black Senegalese man was echoed in a letter to Miss Daubeney, a VAD in West London, whose friend in France described visiting a hospital there: “There are some black soldiers at the hospital. They are so funny because they treat everyone in such an informal way and all they do is laugh the whole time.”⁷⁷ Being quick to smile and laugh countered any suspicion of the men as dangerous or uninhibited, positioning them as children or ‘playthings’ of the nursing staff, removing the threat of their potent masculinities and sexuality through making them childlike, much in the same way as illness or injury could make them docile and less threatening. Infantilisation of troops has emerged as a common sentiment amongst the white dominion soldiers’ accounts of hospital, and so it is unsurprising to see similar descriptions by nurses of treating non-white troops as children in their hospital encounters. Yet the ‘infantilised and loyal “simpleton soldier”’, like in Horner’s description of the West Indian men as ‘pet’ and ‘plaything’, was partly produced to negate the threat from black men to white nurses, to maintain a good impression of the colonial troops and to ensure the good treatment of the troops.

As Mullineaux spent more time in the hospital, receiving further nursing training, the work became more ‘desperate’ with more casualties arriving. As a result, one of the Senegalese men

⁷⁵ Mullineaux, 22 July 1918.

⁷⁶ Mullineaux, September 1918.

⁷⁷ IWM, Documents 5566, Letters to Miss D. Daubeney, Letter 9, 20 August 1917.

whose health had improved was recruited, alongside two French patients, to assist her in her work.

The Senegalese follows me with a tray (eye treatments) in the day, and a lantern at night - and sticks scented cigarette cards down my neck!⁷⁸

The ability of the Senegalese man to get up from bed and walk around changed his occupation of space in the hospital, and the tone of the relationships he had. He was no longer a child restricted to bed but mobile and able to work alongside her, which allowed a less asymmetric relationship to develop. He was no longer a patient in her charge, but a fellow, if inferior, worker. What we see is the evolution of a relationship and Mullineaux's changing sentiments as she spent more time with these unfamiliar men. While there was some degree of indulgence of the man as an adopted assistant, there was some sexual tension in how he interacted with this white nurse's aid. The two became a pair, as they monitored the wards day and night, when the other patients would be sleeping or in the dark, leaving them isolated and unsupervised. Dropping scented cigarette cards, which might have had images of women on them, is resonant of playground flirtation - an excuse to touch while maintaining a playful dynamic. The boundaries blurred as they worked together. Mullineaux was not frightened and surprised by the black man's presence in the night, unlike Nurse Muffet in the cartoon, and her account reveals her amused and not entirely disapproving response. She was careful to avoid implications of a personal relationship developing; she almost makes fun of the interaction and her constant reference to the man as 'the Senegalese' denies him a name or a sense of identity beyond his nationality and ethnicity. The unprecedented scenario she presents was an example of the kind of interaction that generated anxiety among those concerned with protecting the character of the white nurse - her 'health', her 'white prestige', her femininity - from racial mixing.

Mullineaux's life writing about her war experience reflected a shift in her personal relationship with this patient, echoing other accounts. Marjorie Thomas, a VAD nurse, wrote

⁷⁸ Mullineaux, 13 September 1918.

about her time in Mesopotamia where she treated black men alongside white British Tommies.

But there was great trouble of another kind. The British Tommies did not want to sit with the “blacks” and the “blacks” did not want to sit with each other. The “blacks” were not Indians – we never saw them. These were negroes. Some, from the West Indies, were cultured, educated men, more fastidious than many a British soldier with their array of toilet articles in their lockers – toothbrushes, sponges, talcum powder, etc. But others, from the Gold Coast or Nigeria, were much less sophisticated. They had been brought in to work on the Inland Waterways, and had never seen things like cups, saucers and cutlery before and their table manners were non-existent. So the two lots of “blacks”, who looked exactly alike, had to be found two separate tables.⁷⁹

Thomas’ words reflected the differences that she, a white woman, observed between the black men who, to her, looked the same, distinguishing both ethnographic types and human distinctions. Rather than thinking about whiteness and blackness in stable categories, the relationships between these men upset her sense of the racial order and she used her own observations to make sense of this new dynamic. Her imagining of ‘race relations’ was challenged in reality to demonstrate their complexity. The West Indians were educated and cultured, but their personal hygiene regimens were the real point of separation. This attention to cleanliness elevated their status in her eyes. On the other hand, the Nigerians’ inappropriate manners fulfilled the stereotype of the ‘uncivilised native’. Multiple discourses about non-white men interacted within the hospital space. Thomas’s account, phrased in almost ethnographical terms which placed her as an unattached observer, illuminates how racial anxieties and racism did not occur simply on a white/non-white binary, but operated upon many levels, a theoretical racial hierarchy acted out in reality.⁸⁰ Not only were the white Tommies articulating a desire for segregation in the hospital on racial grounds, but in Thomas’ view the Nigerians were also experiencing racial discrimination at the hands of the West Indians, who used their social conditioning and class – signified in their culture and education – to distinguish themselves. Thomas, too, seemed to think more about the symbols of the black men’s class than their colour in naming them ‘more fastidious’ even than white British soldiers, revealing how class and education could ‘raise’ non-white men above the

⁷⁹ IWM Documents 8236, Memoirs of Marjorie Thomas, p. 171.

⁸⁰ Das, *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, p. 20.

‘inferiority’ of their race.⁸¹ ‘Prestige’ was not exclusive to imperial whiteness but could create distinct hierarchies among non-white peoples too. The discrete ranking of non-white men broadened the symbolic function of white women as boundary keepers of empire, as racial tensions went beyond the metropole and extended to the uncertainty of the hospital ‘abroad’. The women, like Thomas, became active agents in negotiating the racial tensions present in these culturally and ethnically different communities created by those injured in the war. Thomas’ account reflected her growing awareness of empire’s demography and the hierarchies that sustained it as well as the powerful role the white nurses had in implementing order and structure in the wards where they worked, which had to take account of patients’ needs beyond the medical.

The nurses represented the non-white colonial troops they encountered in flexible and evolving terms, moving from seeing the men as savages or as children to understanding distinctions between their blackness or in making personal connections. The same was true of more creative products based on nursing service during the First World War. Enid Bagnold, the author known for the children’s classic *National Velvet* (1935) published her First World War diary as *A Diary Without Dates* (1917), based on her experience as a VAD nurse at the Royal Herbert Hospital, Woolwich. On the ‘T. B. ward was a ‘negro’ who was the ‘pet’ of the ward: ‘they call him Henry’, echoing tropes of the childlike simpleton.⁸² Bagnold wrote about the day she encountered Henry, describing his clicking language (he came from ‘somewhere in Central Africa’) and how he was ‘very proud of his austerity’, only having one wife as was typical of the other Englishmen on his ward, again drawing on rhetoric of the sexually ‘immoral’ practices of non-white men.

Then he did his second trick. He came to me with outstretched black hand and took my apron, fingering it. Its whiteness slipped between his fingers. He dropped it and, holding up the hand with its fellow, ducked his head to watch me with his glinting eyes.⁸³

⁸¹ Sinha has reflected on how the class privileges of elite indigenous groups intersected with their masculinities, *Colonial Masculinity*, p. 72.

⁸² Enid Bagnold, *A Diary Without Dates* (London: Virago, 1978 (reprint of 1st edition)) p. 42.

⁸³ Bagnold, *A Diary Without Dates*, p. 43.

Bagnold's description evokes the striking contrast between Henry's skin and her apron, its pristine whiteness symbolic of her own role as a guardian of white femininity and the health of the British race. Henry's touch of her clothing, rather than her skin, is framed in playful terms, much like Mullineaux's interaction with her Senegalese patient. He remained somewhat childlike, ducking from her gaze, though his 'glinting eyes' are knowing and coy, adding a sexual frisson to the already intimate scene. The black patients were simultaneously perceived in the frameworks of multiple colonial discourses, enabling the nurses to occupy different roles in response. The tension present between Bagnold and Henry in that moment, as the others present fade away, becomes palpable in her written description. Bagnold went on to write about how the other men thought about Henry:

Although they showed him off with conscious pride, I don't think he really appeared strange to them, beyond his colour. I believe they imagine his wife as appearing much as their own wives, his children as the little children who run about their own doorsteps. They do not stretch their imaginations to conceive any strangeness about his home surroundings to correspond with his own strangeness.⁸⁴

Bagnold moved from being within the encounter to outside it, a careful and informed observer of the racial dynamics of the hospital, like Thomas in her discussion of West Indian and West African men. She asserted her class superiority over the white patients who showed Henry off, as her own reflection indicated the stretch of imagination and worldliness of which they did not conceive, influenced, too, by her own upbringing in Jamaica. As the single black man on the ward, the novelty of Henry's blackness or 'strangeness' made him this pet for the other patients but there remained a human connection. The surroundings of the hospital lessened some of his 'strangeness' by taking him away from the home surroundings that could have made him more exotic. Instead he was only 'other' in direct comparison to the patients themselves. The nurses' perceptions of their patients were subject to re-evaluation as the encounter lengthened, though they rarely moved beyond the available tropes of colonialism. Though not necessarily racist, the women were acting within the existing structures and their encounters with the non-white patients rarely challenge the colonial order.

⁸⁴ Bagnold, *A Diary Without Dates*, pp. 43-44.

Understanding how the black men themselves responded to their nurses' care is much harder to gather from the available material. Once again, the paucity of West Indian letters and diaries necessitates the inclusion of different forms of representation. One letter about the West Indian experience of hospital was published in the *Jamaica Times* in February 1916. Like the other published letters used in the thesis, this was a private reflection designed to be read by family members or friends. At the same time, its selection for publication indicated content chosen by the editor to promote a particular representation. The letter was by one man of the BWIR who spent Christmas 1915 in hospital in Brighton, known only as No. 1891 'B' Company, 5th Platoon, 1st Contingent.

In hospital I received the best treatment possible. We had visitors in abundance; each gave us a present, however humble, and encouraging words. I was the only coloured soldier in the hospital and as the visitors they came in, they said 'Here's a darkie'. They thought I could not speak English until I said 'yes'. Then they asked where I came from, I told them for Jamaica. 'Where is that?' they asked. On telling them it is in the West Indies they wanted to know if all the people there speak English. They also asked what kind of a place Jamaica is. All kinds of questions they asked me.⁸⁵

The unfamiliarity of the West Indian man was clear: the visitors did not even understand that black people from the West Indies spoke English. On a ward amongst other white troops, he was an intriguing and curious prospect to the Christmas visitors bringing gifts to this Brighton hospital, already in a setting of seaside leisure and entertainment.⁸⁶ His account echoed, to a degree, Enid Bagnold's description of Henry. Both men, by virtue of their novelty became the centre of attention, and even indulged in a slightly childlike fashion. The West Indian man's own compliance with the interest of the visitors, in reciprocity, perhaps, for the kindness of the gifts they had brought for the men was essential to the success of the encounter. Asked about his life as an odd combination of 'exotic' expert and pet, he excused the visitors' ignorance and informed them about 'their' empire, though his willingness to entertain the fascination with his racial difference could be seen as an exchange for his good

⁸⁵ *Jamaica Times*, 12 February 1916.

⁸⁶ John K. Walton has discussed British seaside resorts including Brighton in the twentieth century as a 'place on the margin' where the usual restraints on behaviour were removed. John K. Walton, *The British Seaside: Holidays and resorts in the Twentieth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 96.

treatment. This letter was undoubtedly chosen for publication in order to demonstrate the benevolence of the Mother Country to those who might enlist in the future but it also illustrated the conditions required for this benevolence.

The New Zealanders' letters and diaries revealed more emotional and romantic connections between nurse and patients. Elements of these connections have been revealed in the nurses' accounts. Without being able to compare the private letters and diaries of the BWIR men, it is difficult to trace how the men experienced this form of interaction. The closest match to this more intimate language are in the inscriptions written by West Indian men in the autograph books of Nurse Burton, at the Seaford Convalescent Hospital, Surrey Home. Though Cundall had described the poor conditions of the hospital in Seaford, he spoke, too, of the kindness shown to these West Indian troops – the men were treated in the main hospital, mixing with other troops and not distinguished as labourers.⁸⁷ The dedications written by West Indian men in the autograph book, usually in the form of poetry, enabled them to reveal the intimate care they received, without suggestion of miscegenation, using the rehearsed language of the genre.⁸⁸ Lionel French's entry spoke of the dedication and kindness he received during his stay at the hospital,

Shivering in camp with fever and cold,
I was sent to Surrey Home,
Where quite a careful lot of sisters was found,
Who did for me everything they could have done,
To these and also orderlies my great thanks must give,
And their kindness I will remember as long as I live.⁸⁹

French wrote specifically about the 'careful lot of sisters', who along with the orderlies at the hospital – an interesting addition – were so kind to him during his stay. The language is cautiously vague and we get little sense of what the 'careful' sisters actually did for French. His 'fever and cold' suggest pneumonia or the like, incurred from the cold English winter and the

⁸⁷ Cundall, p. 28.

⁸⁸ Das, *Touch and Intimacy*, p. 178.

⁸⁹ IWM Documents 7700, Nurse's Autograph Books Containing Contributions by the West Indian Contingent, First World War, 27 October 1915.

coastal exposure, rather than an injury from active service. Jacob Cunningham, No. 2783 of the BWIR, also wrote a poem for Miss Burton:

The far off W. Indies my home,
At my country's call I have come,
But an illness I didn't expect,
Introduced me to Dear Old Surrey Home.
October 30th was the day,
When pneumonia showed me the way,
How English hearts were kind,
The like I'll never find.⁹⁰

Again, Cunningham's stay in the hospital was due to an illness rather than injury and again, his language is non-specific, saying only that 'English hearts were kind'.

Given the conflation of the nurse's role during the First World War with that of the mother, the kindness shown to the men could be read as indicative of West Indian experience of a similar kind of maternal care. However, the ambiguity of their language limits any sense of personal contact or touch between the men and these women. Rather than the caring or gentle hands of the white nurses in the poetry written by the New Zealand troops, able to explicitly talk about the physical aspects of the care they received, the West Indian poetry is deliberately generic. Equally, individual nurses such as the 'Perfectly-Dinkum-Sister, or the Dinkumly-Perfect-Sister' who appeared in the *Kia Ora Coo-Ee* are absent and only generalised 'sisters', 'orderlies' and 'kindness' emerge. There is no suggestion of these nurses becoming 'pals': instead they are safely closeted in their official positions. The West Indian men in no way acknowledged their own sexual appeal or attraction, despite glimpses of their beauty and sexuality arising in descriptions written by the nurses. The established language of the autograph book allowed this expression of gratitude alongside entries by white men within the same text without racial difference being highlighted and with no hint of intimacy between patient and nurse. The autograph book was, after all, a semi-public document – to be shown to family and friends back home and a lasting record – inscribers took care over what they wrote, particularly with regard to anything that might be misconstrued.

⁹⁰ Nurse's Autograph Books Containing Contributions by the West Indian Contingent.

Hospitals were sites of colonial entanglement in the undecided and ‘in between’ zones bestriding active combat and civilian life. Despite the apparent limitations of the space, where men were rendered immobile by the injury or illness, hospitals facilitated encounters, particularly between patients and nurses. For nurses in these spaces, new responsibilities were expected, as chaperones of racial, national and sexual boundaries. How nurses responded to these roles was under constant scrutiny, and they learned to carefully navigate the colonial entanglements they encountered. By thinking about the individual accounts of encounters between nurses and patients, we can understand further the different responses the nurses had to their patients in their care, which surpassed existing maternal motifs of caregiving to burgeoning friendship or romance in the case of white dominion troops from New Zealand. This was facilitated not only by shared whiteness, but also by similarities in age and without barriers of rank; class distinctions only emphasised the ‘loveliness’ of the VADs.

Contemporary accounts by both nurses and patients also reveal the complex responses to non-white patients that depended on racial distinctions – from recorded histories of neglect which asserted the limits of Britain’s imperial responsibility to the autograph books in which words of gratitude could be safely and ‘properly’ expressed. There is little expression of the ‘imperial responsibility’ for caring for colonial men; instead the good behaviour of the BWIR was offered in exchange for their care. Yet, the particular interest taken in black patients or the tributes they paid to those who nursed them complicate the picture.⁹¹ Rather than being beholden by taboos, different emotions were affected in nurses by black men in the hospital space, spurred by anxiety, apathy, curiosity and even desire, which produced a multitude of understandings of ‘blackness’. Their responses to the non-white men in their care could evolve, and while contained within the frameworks of colonial discourse, permitted more complex interpretations of blackness and elements of human connection.

⁹¹ Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics*, p. 154.

Conclusion

This thesis has focused on the testimonies and personal accounts of colonial troops during the First World War: how the men represented their encounters and what these experiences reveal about the hierarchies and structures of the British Empire during a global conflict. The analysis follows a strange journey through dense mixing points for encounter and entanglement in the global First World War. The chapters have made geographic leaps between various theatres of war, not always in chronological order, as encounters on many different fronts are considered: Cairo and other parts of Egypt, France, Britain and London especially come to the fore, but also Ceylon, Colombo, Cape Town, Lemnos and Malta. There are multiple lives and multiple contexts drawn together in this framing of a different kind of war narrative. The representations of the troops have remained at the forefront of the analysis, but in pursuit of the tangled threads of colonialism and encounters in a time of war. Taking places familiar from First World War narratives – troopships, military camps, cafes, hotels, soldiers clubs and hospitals – and probing the tensions produced by the crossing of racial, gender and class boundaries in these spaces has changed their emphasis.

Unfortunately, though, the source material used throughout this research frequently ends well before the Armistice and so a sustained comparison of encounters beyond the war has not been possible.¹ Before turning to the concluding arguments, I will briefly outline what happened at the end of the war for each of the three colonial groups. I reflect too on commemoration of the First World War and the legacy of colonial experience. How did the end of ‘the Great War’ shape how it has been remembered and how modern audiences encounter colonial experience? My pursuit of both colonial experience of the war and the power dynamics that framed representations of encounters has taken place against the background of the centenary commemorations of the First World War. The timing of my

¹ Stephen Clarke has noted in the case of New Zealand the difficulty of finding descriptions of the actual journey back, ‘let alone the transition from soldier to civilian.’ Stephen Clarke, ‘Return, Repatriation, Remembrance and the Returned Soldiers’ Association 1916-22’ in *New Zealand’s Great War*; ed. by Crawford and McGibbon, p. 157

doctorate has added an additional layer through which the research has been approached, offering the chance to observe, from a British perspective, how the hundred years since this global conflict are being marked and how the experience of war is being remembered. While this thesis has acted to challenge the national boundaries of previous scholarship on the colonial experience of the war, the groups are separated by nationality here to understand the power of nationalist urges in commemoration.²

The Colonies at the End of the First World War and After

Soldiers from New Zealand served until the Armistice and many remained in Britain well into 1919, as their troopships home were delayed. Reginald Donald described Anzac Day, 1919, on board the troopship home:

[The padre] spoke of New Zealand's birth as a people – the landing, the cost, suffering and sacrifice, through which a nation can only reach its proper place as a people worthy of the name. Concluded with the appeal that the sacrifice shall not be in vain – that New Zealand's name shall continue to be what she has won.³

16,697 men and women from New Zealand died while on active service overseas during the First World War, with more than 80,000 of the NZEF returning home, including Donald who married in 1922 and became an accountant.⁴ Repatriation began for New Zealand's soldiers long before war's end: the sick and wounded, the permanently disabled. When the Armistice was announced, there were still thousands of New Zealanders to be repatriated from Britain and in many military camps celebrations boiled over into rioting and assaults in the local area, not just by New Zealanders but Australians and Canadians too.⁵ At Sling Camp on Salisbury Plain, the canteen was broken into and barrels of beer were rolled into the

² Jay Winter has described how the transnational can be 'completely compatible' with the national in histories of the First World War: 'the awareness of the significance of the local and the global will enable much more sophisticated national history of the Great War to emerge.' Jay Winter, 'Global Perspectives on World War I: A Roundtable Discussion', *Zeithistorische Forschungen/ Studies In Contemporary History* (2014). < <http://www.zeithistorische-forschungen.de/1-2014/id%3D5009> > [accessed: 4 September 2016]

³ Donald, p. 257, 25 April 1919.

⁴ Clarke, p. 157.

⁵ Desmond Morton, "'Kicking and Complaining": Demobilization Riots in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1918–19', *Canadian Historical Review* (1980).

streets – the drinking continued for three days.⁶ In Palestine, members of the New Zealand Mounted Rifle Brigade raided a local village, Surafend (now the area of Tzrifin in Israel), following thefts at their camp and the murder of one New Zealander. They attacked the local Arab men and killed hundreds in one of the worst atrocities of the war, rarely remembered in the Anzac legend.⁷ Riots and other violent incidents continued to occur in training camps as repatriation was delayed because of the General Election. To keep the men occupied and prevent further discontent, officers decided they should carve a Kiwi in the chalk on the hillside overlooking the plain. Finally, in February and March 1919, the men began to leave for home.



The chalk Kiwi near Sling Camp.⁸

The Anzac experience at Gallipoli is ‘inextricably interwoven’ into the national identities of New Zealand and Australia. Over 20,000 people travelled from the two countries to Turkey in April 2015 to mark the one hundred years since the campaign, with an extra two services

⁶ Christopher Pugsley, ‘New Zealand: “The Heroes Lie in France”’, *At the Eleventh Hour: Reflections, Hopes and Anxieties at the Closing of the Great War* ed. by Peter Liddle and Hugh Cecil (Barnsley: Leo Cooper, 1998), p. 200.

⁷ Pugsley, ‘New Zealand’, p. 207.

⁸ Sling Camp, Salisbury Plain, England, during World War 1. Johnson, Margaret: Collection of photographs and postcards of assorted subjects. Ref: PAColl-6129-02. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <<http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23086358>>[accessed: 5 April 2016]

for those without tickets for the dawn service but who had made the journey anyway.⁹ The first Anzac Day was held on 25 April 1916 to commemorate the first anniversary of the Gallipoli campaign and was a well-established practice by the time the troops arrived home. Anzac Day is marked in New Zealand, Australia and now, around the world and remains a putative day of great sorrow in New Zealand, with services at the hundreds of local war memorials throughout the country. As Stephen Garton has remarked, ‘there are important differences of tone and tenor in the observance of Anzac Day on both sides of the Tasman Sea.’¹⁰ While Australia has a public holiday and large public parades, in New Zealand the discourse of remembrance and sadness for the lives lost, with dawn services and official ceremonies, is the primary focus of the day, perhaps asserting further the national specificities of these two nations whose experiences were deeply entangled during the war. The sombreness mirrored interwar life in New Zealand and the struggle of depression in the 1920s and 30s.¹¹ The lack of parades also reflected New Zealand’s introduction of conscription during the war. Unlike Australia, not all of the New Zealand troops chose to go to war:

Anzac Day is a day where the national consciousness is one of cost. It is a commemoration of the price New Zealand has paid on its journey to nationhood, and the price it may be asked to pay again if it commits itself while as unprepared as it was in two world wars.¹²

The war was essential to a developing sense of New Zealand identity, which has been repeatedly emphasised in the troops’ representation of encounters. The sacrifice necessitated in this experience has not been forgotten and is instead integrated into the war memory. While the Gallipoli campaign was not the only major battle the men fought in, it has come to stand for the success of the nation in the war. John Key, New Zealand’s Prime Minister, reflected in July 2014 that the centenary was ‘an opportunity to expand our awareness and knowledge of what happened after Gallipoli and in particular on the Western Front, where by

⁹ Pugsley, *The Anzac Experience*, p. 11; ‘Gallipoli Centenary marked with feelings of sadness and pride’, *The Guardian*, 24 April 2015 <<https://www.theguardian.com/news/2015/apr/24/gallipoli-centenary-marked-with-feelings-of-sadness-and-pride>> [accessed: 16 August 2016].

¹⁰ Stephen Garton, ‘Demobilization and Empire: Empire Nationalism and Soldier Citizenship in Australia After the First World War – in Dominion Context’, *Journal of Contemporary History* (2014), 3.

¹¹ Pugsley, *The Anzac Experience*, p. 209.

¹² Pugsley, *The Anzac Experience*, p. 309.

far the majority of our casualties occurred.’¹³ Yet the New Zealanders’ definition of self against the multiple ‘others’ they encountered on all the fronts where they served – especially the white nations of Britain and Australia who they saw as international competition – was certainly as much a part of the creation and development of nationhood as the experience of battle.

The Maori Pioneer Battalion were repairing roads near the River Sambre, which crosses the border between France and Belgium, when the Armistice was announced.¹⁴ The Battalion carried on with these repairs until 15 November 1918 and remained in France until 20 December 1918 when orders to send them to Germany were cancelled and they were sent to Dunkirk to prepare for the return home. After conditions at Dunkirk caused many men to catch influenza, the Battalion was sent to Larkhill Camp on Salisbury Plain, close to Sling Camp, where they remained until their embarkation back to New Zealand at the end of February 1919. James Cowan detailed the celebrations the battalion received as they arrived back home:

All the old war-songs were sung; the ancient war cries were heard again. Chants that inspired the defenders of Orakau and the Gate Pa and many another battlefield came from the grey-beards of the tribes; from the women and girls came songs, composed for this day, and the rhythmic and melodious *poi* enchanted all eyes and ears. And the grand old “Toia Mai” chorus of greeting to the honoured ones was heard again and again: it likened the soldiers to a canoe crew returning to the loved home shores.¹⁵

As the Maori men returned home to New Zealand, their First World War service was reinforced as part of longer traditions of Maori military strength and martial ability, like the first ancestors who had arrived in the country on canoes thousands of years before.

For the Maori who had fought in the First World War, the opportunity to prove themselves as equals in New Zealand had been fully realised by their combat participation at Gallipoli,

¹³ Motions, World War I Centenary, Parliament NZ, 29 July 2014. < https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/50HansD_20140729_00000008/motions-world-war-i-centenary-commemoration-of-new-zealand-s> [accessed: 16 August 2016]

¹⁴ Cowan, p. 154.

¹⁵ Cowan, p. 161.

and further service in France and Flanders. Maori military service, while necessitated by the manpower needs of the British Army, had been presented as an opportunity for the political gains of this group. Te Rangi Hiroa/Peter Buck, one of the few Maori officers and a Maori MP wrote in his diary that those New Zealanders, who fought with the Maori at Gallipoli, 'have admitted him to full fellowship and equality'.¹⁶ The military encounters and interactions facilitated by the movements of the war allowed the Maori to demonstrate superior fighting skill and to become part of a community with those with whom they served. Whether this 'fellowship' extended to the fighting men when they left the military or to Maori communities more generally is debatable. Historian Monty Soutar looks to a contemporary of Buck, Apirana Ngata, a Maori politician and lawyer, to assess this question. Ngata argued that the Maori soldier did not come of age during the First World War, because it was their service as a Pioneer battalion, not on the front line, that was remembered.¹⁷ Once again, the complex operations of colonialism in this time of global conflict, including the restriction of duties for non-white men in Europe, had consequences beyond the individual and personal at the political and national level. Importantly in the context of this study, the encounters experienced by the Maori have been recognised by Soutar, as having a much longer-term significance in the years following the war. By interacting with each other, with their white Pakeha counterparts and with the British Empire more broadly, the First World War became 'an enlightening experience' for the men of the First Maori Contingent and the Pioneer Battalion. Returning to New Zealand as well-travelled and 'worldly' men gave veterans of the First World War respect beyond their service record. These encounters became a starting point for the 'embryonic' race relations of New Zealand to develop, which have continued in the years since the conflict.¹⁸ In July 2014, Te Ururoa Flavell, the Co-Leader of the Maori Party, gave a speech in parliament which focused on the 'decimation of whakapapa (genealogy) Maori experienced during World War I' but described, too, how the encounters of the First World War helped New Zealand's ethnically different population better

¹⁶ Cowan, p. 69.

¹⁷ Soutar, p. 103.

¹⁸ Soutar, p. 103.

understand each other: ‘some New Zealanders went to Gallipoli and France to find out about their own indigenous peoples, the first peoples of the land.’¹⁹ Throughout the centenary, Maori service has been recognised and included in the national commemorations, reflecting contemporary race relations in New Zealand. This has included a new book by Soutar for the Ministry of Culture and Heritage with a search for Maori soldiers’ photographs, the selection of Maori TV to be the main broadcaster for the Gallipoli commemorations for a second year in 2015 and the broadcast of Maori specific First World War documentaries.²⁰

The South African Infantry Brigade (SAIB) was withdrawn from the frontline on 20 October 1918 and marched to Serain in the Aisne department in Picardy, Northern France, where they remained until 1 November 1918. When released at the Armistice, some South Africans – around forty men who were all right-wing officers – volunteered to support the forces in Russia who were fighting to counter the communist revolutionaries, but the majority returned home to South Africa.²¹ William St Leger was killed in action on 27 April 1918, during the Battle of Lys: his vivid letters, which have formed a central part of this research, curtailed in the war’s final months. Like the Anzac campaign at Gallipoli, one single battle came to stand for white South African service: the dawn attack on Delville Wood by the SAIB on 15 July 1916. The fighting continued until September 1916 and resulted in the deaths of over 2,400 South African men. From July 1917, Delville Wood commemoration days began in major cities in South Africa, including church services, sports ground rallies, marches and concerts. Delville Wood’s significance for remembrance was apparent even during the war, often equated with Gallipoli for Australia and New Zealand, and Vimy Ridge for Canada as a

¹⁹ Whakapapa is much more than a genealogical device but is a central discourse of Maori culture and customs that establishes and maintains relations between individuals, families and tribes. Motions, World War I Centenary, Parliament NZ, 29 July 2014 < https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/50HansD_20140729_00000008/motions-world-war-i-centenary-commemoration-of-new-zealand-s > [accessed: 16 August 2016].

²⁰ Maori Television < <http://www.maoritelevision.com/about/media/maori-tv-deliver-gallipoli-service-worldwide-audience> > [accessed: 16 August 2016]; Ministry for Culture and Heritage < <http://www.mch.govt.nz/search-continues-first-world-war-maori-soldiers-photographs> > [accessed: 16 August 2016].

²¹ Nasson, *Springboks on the Somme*, p. 154.

moment of ‘national fighting spirit and a selfless and uncomplaining heroism.’²² The South African Memorial at Delville Wood was unveiled on 10 October 1926 and acted to broker the distance between South Africa and Britain, the dominion and its metropolis, by marking of South African strength on French soil. As Bill Nasson has reflected, the significance of Delville Wood lay ‘in a commemoration of national fighting spirit and a selfless and uncomplaining sacrifice on behalf of a vital “portion” of the empire.’²³ No longer was South Africa associated with the Anglo-Boer War or the Afrikaner Rebellion, but was instead known for what the Union had achieved on behalf of the British Empire. However the cohesiveness of white national identity presented in the commemoration of service at Delville Wood has been called into question by the low numbers of Afrikaners who served, the high numbers of British emigrants rather than ‘colonial-born’ settlers who served and hostility to the continuing imperialist sentiment by republicans.²⁴ The absence of black South African service at the Delville Wood memorial until 1986 is a further indication of the specific form of national identity contained in this space.

Delville Wood was the invention of the patriotic tradition of a non-republican Anglo-Afrikaner people, governing a white Dominion state taxed and not found wanting by war, and able in victory to commemorate the virtue of sacrificial valour.²⁵

Rather than the perceived collective ritual of nation associated with Australia and New Zealand on Anzac Day, Delville Wood Day belonged only to a specific group of white South Africans. The historical ironies of the Delville Wood memorial during apartheid and particularly post-apartheid are yet to be fully understood.

The South African Native Labour Corps (SANLC) was discharged from war service from January 1918, when the labourers’ services were no longer required. Their numbers in France reduced steadily, with the last troops embarking to leave France on 26 September 1918, as the

²² Nasson, ‘Delville Wood’, 62.

²³ Nasson, *Springboks on the Somme*, p. 220.

²⁴ Nasson, ‘Delville Wood’, 63.

²⁵ Nasson, ‘Delville Wood’, 81.

war was drawing to a close.²⁶ A few of the black men remained in England – mostly those ill in hospital or in depots; the Plymouth depot did not close until 4 March 1919. Though the men were allowed to keep their military clothing on their discharge, some of the non-white former labourers were charged for wearing uniform ‘without permission’. The black South African men in the SANLC were not awarded medals, despite the British War Medal being given to their white officers and NCOs and their black comrades of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland.²⁷ Stimela Jason Jingoes reflected in the 1970s on how the war changed those black men who made up the SANLC.

Although at the time politics and independence were a long way off, we were aware, when we returned, that we were different from the other people at home. Our behaviour, as we showed the South Africans, was something more than they expected from a Native, more like what was expected among them of a white man. We had copied the manners and customs of Europeans, and not only copied: we lived them, acted those customs right through.²⁸

The potential for black assimilation into ‘white’ society was clear: through their war service the black South African men had proven themselves ‘worthy’ of equality, in much the same way the Maori had. War service could be used a leverage for greater change. Further still, they had encountered societies where racial equality was seemingly possible and experienced relative integration and assimilation. While the South African government had strived to limit any threat to the racial order, the experiences examined throughout the thesis have demonstrated how encounters occurred within and despite of management through segregation. Jingoes’ testimony is a reminder of the potency of wartime encounters for individuals. The next years of his life were ‘unsettled’ in his own words, as a teacher and clerk in various places in the Free State and Natal, before joining Clements Kadalie, head of the Industrial and Commercial Workers’ Union of Africa (ICU), in his movement in 1927.²⁹ Other ex-servicemen became active in the ICU and in the African National Congress while other veterans would go on to serve South Africa and the British Empire in the Second World War. The wartime disruptions did not set the tone for political change in South Africa;

²⁶ Clothier, p. 165.

²⁷ Clothier, p. 172.

²⁸ *A Chief is a Chief*, p. 92.

²⁹ *A Chief is a Chief*, p. 98.

the commemoration of SANLC service is enmeshed in the politics and legacies of apartheid. As discussed in Chapter One, the ‘mutating memories’ of the Mendi and SANLC service in flux throughout the twentieth century, remembered and forgotten for political gain.³⁰

Both the memoirs of Alfred Horner and John Ramson about the service of the British West Indies Regiment (BWIR) ended before the war did. Though Horner compiled his book after the Armistice to be published on Peace Day 1919, his introduction does not reflect upon the gaps in his narrative. Instead he was concerned about how the book would be received by its various audiences. In presenting the work for ‘Home consumption’, the context for West Indians returning from service created new pressures for Horner’s broadly optimistic and mediated presentation of his experience.³¹ The texts written by the padres reveal very different war stories than how it was necessarily experienced by the BWIR men, ending most dramatically with the mutiny at Taranto, Italy, in December 1918.³² The institutional and systematic discrimination faced by the BWIR – maltreatment in hospital, the denial of pay increases and bonuses, and the cruel acts of white army officers – has been raised in this thesis, though somewhat obscured by the focus on encounters. The Taranto Mutiny was a culmination of dissatisfaction: when Lieutenant-Colonel Willis ordered his BWIR men to clean the latrines of Italian labourers, his tent was slashed by some of the men and the next day, the ninth and tenth battalions refused to work. Samuel Pinnock, a Jamaican man, was shot dead by his sergeant, who was subsequently imprisoned for four months. Forty-nine men were found guilty of mutiny, thirteen of escaping confinement and fifteen for disobedience or striking an officer.³³ In Britain, too, the 1919 race riots, in Liverpool, Glasgow, Cardiff, Newcastle and East London, involved discharged West Indian servicemen and seamen, which were linked to disturbances later in 1919 in Trinidad, Tobago, and

³⁰ Grundlingh, ‘Mutating Memories’, 21.

³¹ Horner, p. 1.

³² Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 131.

³³ Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 131.

Belize.³⁴ Evidence of war service was frequently used by the black men under attack in Britain, wearing medals in public or writing articles for local newspapers, to demonstrate their loyalty and commitment to the Empire, which was going unrecognised.³⁵ The actions of the Army, War Office and Colonial Office contributed to a sense of rejection and ungratefulness through their failure to remunerate the West Indian soldiers fairly, the lack of recognition given the men – including their exclusion from the victory parades – and the lack of support supplied for veterans through pensions or employment opportunities. The poem, *The Black Soldier's Lament*, attributed to George A. Borden, and interviews given by veterans reveal the discriminatory way West Indians were treated, and how little support the returning soldiers received. Borden wrote,

Black blood was spilled black bodies maimed
For medals brave no black was named,
Yet proud were we, our pride unshamed.³⁶

When interviewed by Simon Rogers for the *Guardian* in 2002, George Blackman, the last living veteran of the BWIR, who had served in the fourth battalion, found his loyalty and patriotism dissipated.

Now I said, "The English are no good." I went to Jamaica and I meet up
some soldiers and I asked them, "Here boy, what the government give you?"
They said, "The government give us nothing." I said, "We just the same."³⁷

The dissatisfaction of West Indian veterans rings through these fragments of their experience, echoing, too, the recording of racial discrimination on both institutional and personal levels during the First World War. The numerous oppressions suffered by the BWIR may offer some explanation as to why so few documents relating to their service have been kept in archives and libraries. The pioneering work of the production company Hot Patootie in the 1990s to collect interviews from veterans for the documentary *Mutiny* (1999) remains an invaluable artefact of West Indian service and its legacies. The encounters within this thesis

³⁴ Jacqueline Jenkinson, 'The 1919 Race Riots in Britain: A Survey', *Under the Imperial Carpet* ed. by Lotz and Pegg, p. 184.

³⁵ Rowe, 66.

³⁶ 'The Black Soldier's Lament', International War Veterans Poetry Archive <http://iwvpa.net/borden_ga/the-blac.php> [accessed: 17 August 2016].

³⁷ Simon Rogers, "'There were no parades for us'", *Guardian*, 6 November 2002 <<http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2002/nov/06/britishidentity.military>> [accessed: 9 March 2016].

are a reminder of how even positive interactions between the BWIR and other groups remained couched in the languages and discourses of colonialism.

The racism faced by the men of the BWIR during their war service did not mean, though, that the First World War was not commemorated in the West Indies. Richard Smith has demonstrated how West Indian war service was co-opted into political movements, including nationalism and Pan-Africanism. ‘Among both veterans and the wider nationalist movement, the status and plight of the ex-servicemen became a key emblem in the development.’³⁸ The language of military sacrifice was a carefully and effectively appropriated element of post-war political struggles, a way of seeking economic equality and citizenship rights in the years after the war.³⁹ It could also be used to press for self-determination. War memory across the twentieth century reflected the shift, in Jamaica at least, from empire to the nation-state. While the memorials erected in Jamaica in the 1920s commemorated the men’s role in the imperial brotherhood there were also distinct national elements, which were reflected in the shifting geography of the Kingston memorial, relocated to George VI Memorial Park in 1953 which became National Heroes Park after independence.⁴⁰ The memory of West Indian war service exists, though, beyond the nation state and national boundaries with diasporic populations, especially in Britain, who commemorate this participation as part of their citizenship of the former empire’s centre.

One of the most innovative responses to commemorating colonial service during the centenary has been Andrea Levy’s short story *Uriah’s War* (2015), available exclusively in a digital format.⁴¹ Levy had been surprised to learn from a relative that her grandfather served with the BWIR on the Western Front. She did not believe that it was true – she had never

³⁸ Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*, p. 152.

³⁹ Richard Smith, “‘Heaven grant you strength to fight the battle for your race’: nationalism, Pan-Africanism and the First World War in Jamaican memory”, *Race, Empire and First World War Writing* ed. by Das, p. 271.

⁴⁰ Smith, ‘Jamaican memory’, p. 276.

⁴¹ The digital availability and low price of the book seems designed to increase its accessibility. <<http://www.andrealevy.co.uk/books/uriahs-war/>>[accessed: 9 March 2016].

heard of Jamaicans taking part in that war – until she began to do her own research. In her introduction she writes:

The centenary of the outbreak of World War One made me want to add the experiences of West Indian troops to the record. The more I researched, the more I was struck by the patriotism and courage of the West Indian men who volunteered to fight for the British Empire.⁴²

In her short story, Levy constructs a fictionalised narrative of two West Indian soldiers, Uriah and his friend Walker, who served together in the first battalion of the BWIR. The story follows the men from their arrival in Seaford, their deployment to Egypt and Palestine, where they distinguish themselves in active combat, to Taranto and the mutiny that curtails Uriah's narrative. The story's epilogue, written from Walker's perspective, reflects on the unfair discrimination against West Indian men and how their patriotism was insulted when, as he accuses the assumedly (white) British reader, 'you have failed to recognise our contribution.'⁴³ This is an emotionally and politically driven work: why were men like Levy's grandfather forgotten, and what can be done to make up for this failure? It includes, too, a fictionalised imagining of the personal reflections on encounters during the war that have become familiar through this thesis. The protagonists are among the portion of the BWIR who saw active combat in Egypt and Palestine. There is a sense that this combat experience is used as evidence of West Indian service rendered as well as a narrative tool which allows the global aspects of the war to be more fully explored. Levy acknowledges Smith's book as a key source in her research – 'without it I would still not believe that my grandfather was at the Somme.'⁴⁴ Levy uses traces from current historiography, which itself features examples from the official record and elements of life writing, to construct a fictional piece that exemplifies elements of First World War experience for a general reader. *Uriah's War* serves as a thought provoking and accessible model, tied to the historical scholarship, for how challenging narratives can be negotiated but not shied away from in a genre suitable for multiple audiences.

⁴² Andrea Levy, *Uriah's War* (London: Tinder Press, 2014), Introduction.

⁴³ Levy, *Uriah's War*, p. 10.

⁴⁴ Levy, *Uriah's War*, Introduction.

Colonial Encounters and the First World War

The thesis has demonstrated how the clash of empires during the First World War created fresh spaces for encounter. The discursive spaces that have been used to structure the research were established as nexus points in both imperial and military structures. Each of these spaces revealed their own particular tensions as different colonial discourses were given emphasis by their particular functions. In military camps, in Chapter Three, troops from across the British Empire and the Allied Forces mixed together and their encounters were understandably dominated by war's competition between masculinities. The colonial troops were observed and compared within the framework of martial races. When the men went on leave, in Chapter Four, the discourses about their destinations took precedence in shaping their experience as they encountered the historic sights that these cities were famous for, the social facilities of civilian life and the living populations of Cairo, Alexandria and London. In both Chapters Five and Six, the colonial troops encountered women, in civilian spaces and in hospitals. The intersection of gender and race in these spaces heightened pressures as official institutions attempted to manage the colonial order through the control of white femininity and both white and non-white masculinities and sexuality. In hospital, the need to care for the colonial troops while resisting the potential intimacy of the hospital space added an additional layer to the complex relations between white women and non-white men. The thesis has also shown the different types of encounter that could be experienced throughout the war. These have ranged from fleeting moments of observation to longer-term interactions that allowed deeper emotional connections and reflections. Chapter Three demonstrated why acknowledging observation as a form of encounter is important, in thinking through descriptions of combat or labour ability and physicality, and how this could shape identity and challenge existing colonial discourse. Camp encounters, too, were shaped by the social structures in place to create community between the diverse men, like YMCA huts and sports days. Both Chapters Two and Four revealed the existing structures that could facilitate encounter when the men were both soldiers and tourists, arriving in new ports and riding in rickshaws or on guided tours of London. There were a variety of encounters with women: the

men observed them, criticised them as sex workers, flirted with them in cafes, assisted them with domestic tasks, or even engaged them in marriage and brought them home to the colonies. Over the course of the war, the men have been seen to encounter multiple and global ‘others’, peoples and places.

The encounters within the multitude of locations revealed within the research have determined colonial relations beyond a binary approach to those between the metropole and the periphery. While Britain has featured frequently as the location for camps, time spent on leave, civilian interactions and hospitals, the analysis has established, too, inter-colonial networks on a global scale. But there have also been limits to encounters within the colonial web of mobility created by the First World War. The impact of the war, both physical and emotional, has prevented and obscured the occasion of encounter. This was particularly evident on the journey to war where the men’s physical experience of the ship and the sea overtook reflections on any new encounters within the limited space until their arrival in ports. All of the encounters took place during warfare on an industrial scale and while there was overlap between the spaces of war and the spaces where the encounters happened, those that have come to the fore were those where the men had some relief from their military service.

The dedicated exploration of the encounters experienced by the New Zealanders, South Africans and West Indians has offered a fresh take on colonial approaches to the First World War. Scholarship within national boundaries, like that of Richard Smith, Bill Nasson and Christopher Pugsley, has produced essential histories of the BWIR, the SAIB and the SANLC, and the NZEF and Maori contingents respectively.⁴⁵ Their vital examinations of the colonial contexts, official regulations and experiences of the national groups have been foundational to this research. But by making transnational comparisons of personal experience within the framework of encounter, this thesis has made an essential contribution

⁴⁵ Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers*; Nasson, *Springboks on the Somme*; Pugsley, *The Anzac Experience*.

to First World War scholarship, building on this previous work and that of Richard Fogarty and Timothy Winegard.⁴⁶ Thinking thematically across national divisions has allowed the more entangled and relational histories of the British Empire and colonial hierarchies to come to light.

While personal experience has been privileged throughout the thesis, this has not been at the expense of understanding the political power dynamics at stake in colonial encounters. Through the personal representations of encounters, the thesis has explored whether the dislocation of the British Empire saw a rupture in the colonial discourses that it relied upon or their reinforcement during this time of global crisis. What has been argued is that colonial encounters confirmed existing colonial relations and anxieties and simultaneously disrupted these categories. Broad, discursive tensions – maintaining the racial order, miscegenation, and masculinity in crisis – influenced encounters at the same time as encounters subverted them. The First World War amplified racial tensions, but also called into question other categories of identity including nationality, class and gender. The process of identity formation for the men from these groups was individual, ongoing and unstable, and relied upon careful negotiation, from the moment they ‘arrived’ in port. Sometimes these happened within existing structures: at camp, prevailing languages of ‘martial races’ were employed to raise the profile of other groups, most particularly the Maori men. On leave, the different framing of the urban spaces produced varying responses: Cairo’s ancient historic setting interrupted by the presence of ‘natives’, London as the imperial metropole with a very different significance as the home of the Empire’s history and power. On other occasions, the responses were surprising or unexpected: when white New Zealanders arrived in London, their critiques of the city revealed a more ambiguous response to the Mother Country than the links of the British Empire might otherwise have produced. The easy ability of white New Zealand soldiers to establish relationships, even romantic, with their white (predominantly) British nurses in comparison with the careful presentation of relations between nurses and non-white

⁴⁶ Fogarty, *Race and War in France*; Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions*.

colonial patients was indicative of fears of racial mixing and discourses surrounding non-white sexuality. At the same time, the unprecedented encounters between non-white men and white women – Maori marriages to English women, the SANLC men who were given shelter by French civilians – reveal how, in some circumstances, the rhetoric and its accompanied institutional regulation could be undermined.

Maintaining the comparative approach throughout the thesis has been one of the hardest tasks of this research. Partly this has been to do with the paucity of material from the non-white groups. The absences in the archives have been carefully negotiated by gathering fragments from scattered sources: newspapers, oral testimonies, autograph books. The shortage of letters and diaries has been somewhat overcome. These absences, though, were often the result of institutionalised racist restrictions imposed on the colonial troops. For example, the SANLC's limited role as labourers meant they did not experience interactions with women or time on leave to the same degree as the other troops. Comprehensive comparison is therefore prohibited by a lack of source material to analyse or by the non-occurrence of this experience in the first place. There remain gaps in the analysis that mirror those in the archives, and these have been openly acknowledged in the discussion. Problems have also arisen in managing the numerous unstable variables that have been examined within the contact zones. The individual contexts and discourses for each of the groups, including internal divisions, have to be accounted for in how the men experienced encounters, as well as the numerous different fronts where they served. Each chapter has been determined by a structured comparison that made a particular variable the stable component to allow careful comparisons to be drawn: the type of encounter in Chapter Three, the cities in Chapter Four, race in Chapters Five and Six. However, variables of race, class, gender and nation have remained constantly in flux and their boundaries somewhat elided throughout the analysis of the troops' experience of encounters.

Alongside the multiple variables in the thesis are the multiple genres that have been drawn upon to navigate the gaps in the archive and allow the comparison to be continued as far as possible. A range of material – letters, diaries, memoirs, newspapers, oral histories, and photographs – has been fundamental in building the strong archival foundations upon which the analysis has been based. Investigating colonial experience requires a creative and interdisciplinary approach. The thesis has demonstrated a strong methodological case for the inclusion of a variety of textual and visual material, archived and published, in offering representations that the historian can and should interrogate and question. But the pursuit of the personal representations of encounters by bringing together so many different genres in conversation has sometimes been at the expense of losing the distinctness of their generic specificity. Equally, fictional accounts or the accounts of witnesses like the *padres* of the BWIR have been relied upon in comparison with letters or diaries. While care has been taken to explain the introduction of a new source type, the cross-genre comparison has occasionally equated very different methods of recording experience, which could be perceived as a methodological weakness.

The research undertaken has raised further questions. The lateral connections and comparisons between the selected colonial groups here have illuminated the inconsistencies of colonialism's operation during wartime. What about the experiences of the rest of the British Empire? Further comparison with other colonial groups might further disentangle the new networks of empire created by the mobilisations of the First World War. Equally, comparisons with the experience of French colonial groups, while understanding the very different contexts in which these empires existed, could offer greater insight into thinking about colonial encounters and global warfare. The main question that has remained unanswered, though, is how far did these encounters last after the end of war? Some traces of these encounters have been uncovered in the memory of veterans, particularly in the oral history testimonies, including Stimela Jason Jingoos' testimony describing how he wrote letters to an English man he met at the docks in Dieppe. But there have seldom been

occasions where the troops wrote about what these encounters meant when they went home, either in the years immediately following the war or in longer memories of the conflict. Whether these colonial encounters played a role in the process of decolonisation is far beyond the scope of his thesis, and would require the analysis of a different archive of material. Certainly, national and political changes – the development of New Zealand as a nation, Pan-Africanism, South African movements for black equality and West Indian anti-colonialism – have been linked with the identity-making process of the First World War. Encounters played a discernible role, alongside the combat and labour and institutional racism, in the formation of identity. But would veterans who participated in these political movements reflect on how their wartime experience of encounters contributed to this participation? More personally, did their global mobilisation shape future attitudes towards travel or meeting new people, part of their ‘cultural baggage’ or emotional repertoire, if this travel took place at all? While pursuing these lines of investigation would involve unravelling representations of veteran experience, the legacies of encounter could – like the work of this thesis – compliment other histories of the memory of war.

Coda: Remembering Ethnic Experience in Britain

In light of Britain’s modern ‘multi-cultural’ society, with diasporic populations representing the majority (if not all) of the nations who served in the First World War, I have been particularly intrigued to see how commemoration has interacted with colonial participation and legacy.⁴⁷ What questions does the centenary pose for further research on the colonial experience of the First World War, as it creates a temporal encounter between the modern

⁴⁷ I focus here on my own areas of research but the great deal of work being done in Britain to recognize other colonial groups should be acknowledged. A significant amount of attention has been devoted to the Indian experiences of the First World War, for example in the exhibition *Empire, Faith and War: The Sikhs and World War One* < <https://www.soas.ac.uk/gallery/efw/> > [accessed: 6 August 2016], the Doctor Blighty cultural events at Brighton < <https://www.1418now.org.uk/commissions/dr-blighty/ww1-heritage-doctor-blighty/> > [accessed: 6 August 2016] and in the roundtable on South Asia and the First World War < <https://blogs.kcl.ac.uk/english/2016/07/06/south-asians-and-the-first-world-war-reflections/> > [accessed: 6 August 2016]. Equally the work of the Forgotten Heroes Foundation who commemorate all Muslim troops and labourers < <https://www.facebook.com/FHF1419> > and *Ensuring We Remember* who are campaigning for a memorial for the Chinese Labour Corps < <http://ensuringweremember.org.uk> > [accessed: 6 August 2016] are testament to the continuing impulse for colonial commemoration.

commemorating present of Britain's multi-ethnic communities and the often hidden colonial past? Recent work, like Stephen Bourne's *Black Poppies* (2014) and the 2015 exhibition by the West India Committee at the Museum of London, *The Caribbean's Great War*, have offered contemporary British audiences the opportunity to engage with black experiences of the First World War. The long history of black people in Britain includes the black British men who joined the British army and the discharged West Indian servicemen and seamen of the interwar period, influencing the landscape and languages of 'multiculturalism', immigration and 'race' relations.

The nature of my own research had meant that I, too, have been a contributor to the centenary commemorations and public interest in the participation of the former colonies. The *Whose Remembrance?* project at Imperial War Museum, 2012-2013, heavily influenced the design of this project, and offered opportunities for my research to be shared. The project was a scoping study into the state of research and representation of the people of the British Empire in both world wars and offered useful considerations on how the former colonies have been integrated into our remembrance. The report reflected that,

A greater awareness of this history is long overdue. Many of the speakers, either representing particular communities or working to raise awareness of these marginalised historical experiences, spoke of the alienation they had felt when visiting some of Britain's national museums only to find their own family's history under-represented.⁴⁸

Produced at the cusp of the centenary commemorations, the potential for changing the climate of remembrance seemed particularly ripe; as Santanu Das reflected in the film, we are just 'at the tip of the iceberg', both in the research being done about colonial experience and how it has been shared. Certainly, the centenary years thus far have seen concerted efforts, beyond academia, to share colonial stories of the First World War. Heritage Lottery Funding for community projects, public talks organised by projects like Gateways to the First World War, articles in the national press, television programmes, such as David Olusoga's *The World's War: Forgotten Soldiers of Empire* and radio programmes have allowed the experience of

⁴⁸ *Whose Remembrance?* Project Report <<http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/documents/project-reports-and-reviews/connected-communities/whose-remembrance/>> [accessed: 4 April 2015]

troops from the British Empire to enter more explicitly into the mainstream consciousness.⁴⁹ Yet, for the most part, the national boundaries of commemoration have been understandably retained. Rather than thinking about colonial participation as a whole specific communities have focused on recovering their own war histories and public programming, too has been tied to national or ethnic distinctions. The limitations this poses for thinking about the colonial connections central to this thesis are clear: how far can multiple audiences, beyond the communities to whom they apply, access these projects and events?

My own contributions to the centenary – through participation in public engagement activities and in an article written for *History Today* – have revealed how difficult adding colonial experiences, particularly colonial encounters, to the commemorations can be.⁵⁰ I have had to think about what is expected of a ‘colonial story’ of the First World War by an audience, how to acknowledge discrimination and oppression alongside more positive experiences. The power structures of encounters that are often obscured within personal testimony create challenges, which can lead to the ‘charms’ of the cross-cultural encounter surfacing or being emphasised out of context. Encounters could be seen as exclusively positive or harmonious occasions of multicultural or multiracial interaction; the racial discriminations that both fuelled their occurrence and featured in their representations need to be asserted too. They must be revealed in a way which complicates existing narratives, but which does not obscure the wartime conditions and racist structures that remained actively in place. While audiences have been receptive to these complicated and interesting moments of encounter that demonstrate human connection, my own role as the historian is of prime concern to ensure the nuance is not lost or simplified in how they are presented and by who presents them.

⁴⁹ The *Whose Remembrance?* Film was shown at the Heritage Lottery Fund event *First World War: Stories of the Empire* at the Victoria and Albert Museum, which raised awareness of the funding possibilities for community research <<https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/media-centre/press-releases/first-world-war-stories-empire-be-revealed>> [accessed: 5 April 2016]; *The World's War: Forgotten Soldiers of Empire*, BBC Two <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b04dh242/episodes/guide>> [accessed: 5 April 2016]; *World War One: Soldiers of the Empire*, BBC Radio Four <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p02sx5z0>> [accessed: 5 April 2016].

⁵⁰ Anna Maguire ‘Colonial Encounters’, *History Today* (December 2015), <<http://www.historytoday.com/anna-maguire/colonial-encounters>> [accessed: 5 April 2016].

The centenary has offered the opportunity to think about how the First World War is taught in Britain. With no veterans of the conflict still living, education, alongside museums and heritage, is one of the central places that students can gain knowledge of the conflict, including the colonial experience. The invaluable work done by Catriona Pennell and Ann-Marie Einhaus through the *First World War in the Classroom* project has demonstrated the multitude of reasons why the war is taught by both History and English teachers as a predominantly Anglo-centric conflict. These have included: exam board regulations, syllabuses, structural problems about the accessibility of new research, as well as contemporary cultures of commemoration.⁵¹ Pennell's findings for the History programmes revealed how difficult teachers found it to include elements of the colonial history of the war, despite calls for more teaching on the British Empire in schools, alongside claims that the colonial experience of the First World War will help children understand contemporary Britain's multiculturalism. This reluctance has been predominantly based on the 'difficult' histories of racial hierarchies and racist discrimination towards colonial troops and concerns about the impact this might have on Black British or British Asian pupils.⁵² The challenges of misinterpretation, misrepresentation and a reluctance or refusal to scrutinise the racial inequalities of the British Empire, both during the First World War and in its longer histories, proved beyond the scope for the teachers who participated in the study, and their wariness in understandable. How to talk about these issues in a classroom context, with its own limits, when this is not how the war is generally remembered in Britain is a vast task, reminiscent of my own public engagement challenges. The teaching of the First World War was an area I hoped to contribute to over the course of this research, in collaboration with IWM. This included the production of a learning resource pack for IWM that is freely downloadable for teachers, which focused on the question 'How did people share their cultures and traditions

⁵¹*First World War in the Classroom* <<http://ww1intheclassroom.exeter.ac.uk>> [accessed: 4 April 2016].

⁵² I am extremely grateful to Catriona Pennell for sharing with me the manuscript copy of her article on the findings of the project.

during the First World War?⁵³ By introducing the topic of colonial encounters with various images, letters and objects, I hoped to create opportunities for discussion in classroom spaces where the exchange of histories can take place, including colonial experience of the First World War.

The complexity of encounters as part of war experience has proved to be equally as complex in commemoration. The oppression faced during the war could fuel political momentum, as in the West Indies, while experiencing more equal societies could be equally as potent, for veterans of the SANLC. The creation of national identities in the remembrance of the war, in the case of New Zealand and South Africa, was also particularly significant. What is important here is the place of encounters. By encountering other peoples and places, as has been continually emphasised in this thesis, developing identities were solidified in comparison to multiple 'others' and awareness of other colonial groups, cultures and hierarchies grew. As well as aspects of the experiences of each colony being remembered in the national settings, the centenary commemorations in Britain have proven to be a less Anglo-centric affair, with increasing public outputs mirroring academic interest. As the centenary years continue, how far this more diverse programming will change the sense of ownership around heritage and remembrance remains to be seen.

⁵³ IWM Learning Resource <<http://www.iwm.org.uk/learning/resources/how-did-people-share-their-cultures-and-traditions-during-the-first-world-war>> [accessed: 4 April 2016].

Appendix

List of Characters

This list acts as a reference point for some of the recurring actors in the research providing contextual information about their journeys through the war and lives afterwards. Their dates are included where available.

William Barry

The only unpublished Australian account in the research, the description of Barry's 'vivid' diary in the Imperial War Museum's catalogue drew attention to his extraordinary encounters. Barry served in the 8th Brigade of the Australian Infantry Force (5th Australian Division). He enlisted in July 1915 and became a camp cook to avoid drills. He journeyed to Sri Lanka in April 1916, and then on to Egypt, until June 1916. He arrived in France in July 1916, serving in the Battle of Fromelles where he was taken as a prisoner of war by the Germans. He was hospitalised in Valenciennes due to a gangrenous leg, which was amputated, before being transferred to another camp. There he mixed with prisoners of war from Ireland, Russia, France, India, Sri Lanka, as well as other Australians. He eventually journeyed to Mannheim and was released back to Britain, arriving in January 1918. During his stay in London, he was invited to tea at Windsor Castle served by Princess Beatrice. He was demobilised and returned to Australia.

Edith Bagnold, 1889-1981

A British author and playwright, who was brought up mostly in Jamaica, Bagnold served as a nurse in the First World War, writing critically about the hospital administration leading to her dismissal. After that she was a driver in France for the remainder of the war. She wrote about her hospital experiences in *A Diary without Dates* (1917), notable for its publication during the war, while *The Happy Foreigner* (1920) focused on her driving experience.

Arthur Betteridge, 1896-1983

Betteridge was living in South Africa at the outbreak of the war and served in the South African Infantry Brigade on the Western Front. He was wounded and gassed in July 1916 during the Battle of Delville Wood. His recollections of this experience were published in *Combat In and Over Delville Wood* (1973). In 1918, he transferred to the Royal Flying Corps and served with the No. 3 Squadron.

Mary Borden, 1886-1968

Borden, a novelist, was born into a wealthy American family. On the outbreak of war and living in England, she decided to use her own money to set up a field hospital close to the Western Front. She herself was a nurse there from 1915. *The Forbidden Zone* (1929), a set of sketches and short stories, powerfully captured her experience as woman on the front line.

Rikihana Carkeek, 1890-1963

Carkeek was born in Otaki, New Zealand. He was working as a clerk in Wellington when war broke out and volunteered immediately and became one of the first members of the Native or Maori Contingent. Following training at Avondale in Auckland, Carkeek sailed to Egypt from Wellington on the SS *Warrimoo*. His contingent served garrison duties on Malta in 1915 until Maori reinforcements were required at Gallipoli, and Carkeek landed at Anzac Cove on 3 July 1915. He was wounded on 8 August and was sent to recover on Lemnos. He returned to Gallipoli in November and remained at Gallipoli until evacuation to Egypt on 14 December 1915. From there he travelled to France with the newly formed Pioneer Battalion in April 1916, but contracted tuberculosis and was invalided to England. He went back to France in October 1916. He received a number of promotions and was selected for officer training, receiving his commission after further illness in January 1919. He returned to Otaki at the end of the war. His war diary was published in 2003.

James Cowan, 1870-1943

A noted non-fiction writer in New Zealand, Cowan made significant contributions in his work on colonial histories and Maori ethnography. His history of Maori service during the First World War was published in 1926 and remains an invaluable history.

Raymond Danvers Baker, 1892-1969

Baker enlisted on 15 September 1914 and served with the Canterbury Infantry Regiment of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force. When he was wounded at Gallipoli, he was invalided back to New Zealand in November 1915. After his recovery he re-enlisted under special conditions (without pay) and was seconded for duty with the New Zealand YMCA on 14 August 1918. After the war he went to Chicago to undertake further study with the YMCA and matriculated in 1919. On his return to New Zealand, he studied engineering at Canterbury University, later becoming Borough Engineer for Onehunga.

Reginald Donald, 1888-1985

Donald served as a 2nd Lieutenant in the 6th Howitzer Battery, 2nd Brigade, 8th Reinforcement of the New Zealand Field Artillery. He trained in New Zealand and arrived in Egypt in December 1915, where he remained until April 1916. From there he moved to the Western Front at Armentieres, where he was involved in the Battle of the Somme. Donald travelled further to Belgium in July 1917, where he served until April 1918. He spent May and June 1918 at Officer Training College in Exeter. After the armistice, he witnessed the demobilisation riots in London and travelled back to New Zealand via the United States. He arrived on *Paparoa* on 24 May 1919. His deep Presbyterian faith influenced how he wrote and thought about his war experience, particularly the behaviour of his fellow troops. Donald worked as an accountant following the war. He married in 1922, in Palmerston and had three sons. His papers, kept, typed and edited by his sons with historical contexts and their own commentary added, are held at the Imperial War Museum, London.

Edward Dotish

Self identified 'Britisher' and author of *The First Springbok Prisoner in Germany* (1917), Edward Dotish was a member of the first South African Infantry. He left Cape Town in September 1915 and his war service took him to Egypt, France and Germany, where he was a prisoner of war following the Battle of Delville Wood in 1916. His leg was amputated while a prisoner and following his release in December 1916, Dotish spent time as a patient at the South African Hospital in Richmond Park, Surrey.

Randolph Gray, 1891-1936

Gray was working as a legal clerk in Dunedin before he enlisted as a Corporal on 15 July 1915. Embarking from Wellington with the Medical Corps on 9 October 1915, he arrived in Egypt the following month. Following the Gallipoli campaign, he moved to France in April 1916 to serve with the New Zealand Field Ambulance Corps. In April 1917 he attended an Officer's Training Course in England, before returning to France in July. After recuperating from injuries sustained in action in December he served the remainder of the war as Adjutant at the New Zealand Infantry and General Base Depot at Etaples. For his service during World War One he was awarded the Military Medal and the Military Cross for bravery.

Eric Hames

Hames served in the 2nd Battalion of the Otago Regiment between autumn 1917 and July 1919. He sailed from New Zealand to Glasgow and began training at camp in Salisbury until 26 May 1918 when he embarked for France. He wrote the memoir of his war experience in 1977.

Alfred Horner

Horner wrote *From the Islands of the Sea*, 68 pages long, published in Nassau in 1919, drawing on his articles published in the *Nassau Tribune*. Horner had been born to Anglo-Irish parents,

educated in the army and first travelled to the West Indies as a rector in the Bermudas, later being appointed to Nassau, Barbados. He became the Senior Chaplain to the 9th Battalion of the British West Indies Regiment, carrying the title Major.

Stimela Jason Jingoos, 1895-unknown

Born in Lesotho, Jingoos was working as a clerk in a mine when the war broke out. He joined the SANLC in March 1917 and sailed from Cape Town to Liverpool later that month. He served in France until early 1918, sailing from Southampton back to Cape Town in April. Following his return, he worked as a teacher and a clerk, and became involved in the black labour movement. John and Cassandra Perry, two anthropologists, recorded his oral testimony in the early 1970s.

Henry Kitson, 1882-1959

Kitson left New Zealand in February 1915 aboard the Tahiti, he saw action in the Gallipoli Campaign with the 1st Canterbury Regiment before being injured in June 1915 and transported, to Floriana Hospital in Malta and then to various military hospitals in England. He was discharged from hospital in February 1917 and joined the 37th Reinforcement in 1918. He served as a Warrant Officer at the battles of Bapaume, Bieferrillers, Cambrai and Le Quesnoy.

John A. Lee, 1891-1982

Lee was born in Dunedin, New Zealand. After a troubled upbringing, including time in prison, Lee enlisted at the outbreak of war. He was awarded a Distinguished Conduct Medal for action at Messines in June 1917. Lee was repatriated after losing his arm in March 1918, arriving back in New Zealand in July. As well as a lengthy career as a politician, he wrote many books including *Civilian into Soldier* (1937) and *Soldier* (1976), based on his war experience.

John Maguire, 1885-1940

Maguire's war 'reminiscence', 'My two years with the troops in France', was based on his service with the 8th Otago Company, 2nd Battalion, 2nd Brigade from 1915. It includes an endnote by his daughter.

Captain Miller

'Captain', as he was titled in his book, *With the Springboks in Egypt*, served with the first South African Infantry during the war and his book covers their service in Egypt, including at the Battle of Algiers. Miller was killed in battle on 16 July 1916. He had previously served in the Anglo-Boer War and the campaign in German South West Africa.

John Moloney, 1893-1971

Moloney sailed from New Zealand on the troopship *Tahiti*, like Henry Kitson, and served in Egypt and France. His war diary covers the period 1915-1917.

Alison Mullineaux, 1891-1985

Mullineaux was a Canadian woman, born in Montreal, who enlisted with the American Red Cross and served as a French-speaking 'Nurses' Aid' with the "Service de Santé" in France, between May 1918 and July 1919. She treated American servicemen but also those from the French Army, including gassed Senegalese troops in the summer of 1918. Her diary from this period, along with her own short introduction to her war experience was typed up in Quebec, Canada, in 1976.

Stanley Natusch, 1889-1973

Natusch served in the 1st Battalion of the Canterbury Regiment of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force. He enlisted in September 1914, embarking at Christchurch, and expected to be sent to England but instead travelled to Egypt where he was stationed at Zeitoun Camp, until April 1915. He travelled to the Dardanelles and fought in the Gallipoli

campaign. The last letter held in the collection at the Imperial War Museum is dated 24 September 1915. The introduction to the transcription of his diary and letters gives brief information about the rest of his service. Natusch was commissioned into the Canterbury Regiment in January 1916, following the withdrawal from Gallipoli, and was promoted to Captain two years later. He served along the Western Front, and was discharged from England in May 1919. He pursued a career in architecture.

John Ramson

John Ramson's account of his service with the BWIR was published in Kingston in 1918, just 48 pages long. Ramson was born in Jamaica, the son of an Archdeacon. He had first offered his services as a padre in February 1916 and was finally selected as one of two Jamaican chaplains in June, becoming chaplain to the 6th Battalion of the British West Indies Regiment.

Edward Ryburn, 1896-1917

Ryburn was a 2nd Lieutenant who served with the 2nd Battalion Otago Regiment, New Zealand Expeditionary Force between 5 April 1915 and 22 September 1917. Ryburn was part of the Dardanelles Expedition, serving at Gallipoli. He spent some time in hospital in October 1915, the result of a stomach complaint, and re-joined his battalion in Egypt in February 1916 before embarking to France. He was wounded in the Battle of the Somme and recuperated in England. He was killed in action on 12 October 1917, aged 21.

William St Leger, Unknown-1918

St Leger had been born in England, but was raised in South Africa. At war's outbreak, he enlisted as a volunteer soldier in the Cape Town Highlanders while at college in South Africa, matriculating in December 1914. He worked at a Detention Barracks in Wynberg in early 1915, attending the School of Instruction at Wynberg, before proceeding to serve in German South West Africa. He sailed to Britain in May 1916 and received a commission in the 2nd

Battalion Coldstream Guards, seeing active service in France and Flanders, on the Somme, at the Third Battle of Ypres, at Cambrai, and Arras until his death in action on 27 April 1918 during the Battle of the Lys. He had been awarded the Military Cross in January 1918.

Marjorie Thomas

Thomas was a VAD who served in military hospitals in Meerut and elsewhere in India in 1916 and 1917. She then moved to Mesopotamia, serving at the British General Hospitals in Amara and Basra, where she treated British soldiers, but also West Indian and West African men. During leave to India in 1918, she caught influenza and remained there until her discharge in 1919.

Herbert Tuck, Unknown-1918

Tuck was a sapper with the 1st Divisional Field Company of the New Zealand Engineers. He sailed from New Zealand to Tasmania in November 1914, and served at Gallipoli, where he was injured and spent time convalescing in Malta. He served in Egypt from August 1915 to March 1916, before arriving in the Western Front in May 1916. Tuck spent two months over the winter of 1917-18 in Bournemouth as an NCO instructor at the New Zealand Expeditionary Force Reserve Depot. He was killed in action in August 1918.

James Williamson

Williamson enlisted in October 1915 and served in the New Zealand Tunnelling Company, New Zealand Engineers. He trained in New Zealand until December 1915, and then in England between January and March 1916, before being deployed to France, where his unit was predominantly based in the Arras region. Williamson was invalided with a hernia in early 1917, recovering in a convalescent home in England until returning to New Zealand in November 1918.

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AD1 10/230	Nominal and Embarkation Rolls of Maori and Pioneer Battalion
AD1 734 9/32	Maoris: Offering Services in Expeditionary Force
AD1 734 9/32/1	Maori Contingents, N.Z.E.F

AD1 734 9/32/5	Medical Arrangements Maori Contingent, E. F., 1914
AD1 734 9/32/8	Officers for Maori Contingents, NZEF
AD1 734 9/32/11	Maoris Relieving Section of Troops in Samoa
AD1 757 9/276	Maori Contingent Active Service Correspondence
AD1 758 9/296	Casualties Maori Contingent
AD1 775 10/254	Training for Maori Contingent No. 2. Auckland
AD1 810 13/67	Badge for Maori Contingent, E. F
AD1 813 13/148	Cook Islanders join Maori Contingent
AD1 869 24/146	Niue Islanders from Expeditionary Force
AD1 873 24/246	Discipline: Maoris on Leave
AD1 960 29/108	Recruiting of Maori General File
AD1 992 31/419/20	Maori Contingent Pay and Allowances
AD1 994 31/426/4	Allotments Cook and Other Islanders
AD1 1007 31/1077	Allowances Children Maori Soldiers
AD1 1020 32/20/17	Liquor Maori Soldiers
AD1 1021 32/23	Canteen for Maori Contingent, Avondale, Auckland, 1914
AD1 1062 39/91	Progress Reports: Maori Contingent, E.F
AD1 1062 39/110	Progress Reports: 3rd Reinforcements and Maori Contingent on Voyage
AD1 1108/43/175	Appointment 2IC Maori Contingent
AD1 1108 43/210	Officers: Maori Contingent
AD1 1132 45/67	Formation of Band: Maori Contingent, E.F
AD1 1135 46/104	Uniform and Clothing Maori Contingent
AD1 1276 51/276	Establishment of Library
AD1 1278 51/361	Standing Orders Maori Camp
AD1 1290 51/727/18	Regimental History Maori Pioneer Battalion
AD1 1339 59/132	Chaplains Maori Contingent, Prisoners of War
AD1 1367 66/11	Correspondence: Maoris Under The Military Service Act
AD1 1367 66/22	Men of New Zealand Samoan Expeditionary Force
AD10 1 2/25	Disturbances: Maori Pioneer Troops while Abroad
AD10 20 42/4	Reports: Officers Maori Contingents
AD78 6 22/4	Islanders Returning
AD78 8 23/35	Return: Casualties, Honours, and Enlistments

- Auckland War Memorial Museum, New Zealand

MS 95-25	War Diary (Anon)
MS 2004-76	Diary of William Ahier
MS 2010-20	Memoir and Papers of Raymond Danvers Baker
MS 2002-182	Papers of Charles Basil Beeson
MS 2003-71	Letters of Albert Bousfield
MS 1358	Letters of Arthur Brookfield,
MS 2002-78	Papers of Archie, Ted, William, Arthur George and James Brown
MS 1176	Papers of Martin George Brown
MS 1564	Papers of Sydney Chapman
MS 98-8	Letters of Frank Clark
MS 858	Letters and diary extract of Arthur Currey
MS 873	Dansey Papers

MS 2002-43	Diary of Fred Davison
MS 99-22	Diary of Egbert Dredge
MS 1189	Papers of William Fletcher
MS 544	Papers of George Gibson
MS 2004-2	Diary of James Guy
MS 2002-72	Diary and letters of Harry Hall
MS 2013-2	Letters of Gilbert Hames
MS 99-53	Papers of Thomas Harding
MS 2008-3	Diary of Arthur Harris
MS 2006-59	Diary of Francis Healey
MS-95-11	Papers of Le Gallais Family
MS 2003-107	Papers of Brent Mackrell
MS 2002-165	Memoir of John Maguire
MS 2005-21	Papers of the Monstedt Family
MS 1362	Papers of Ronald Moore
MS 2002-151	Papers of David Morrison
MS 2006-23	Papers of Hugh Mullins
MS 921	Papers of Ernest and Albert Newton
MS 2011-3	Letters of William Prince
MS 2002-138	Diary of Frank Procter
MS 1671	Diary of Robert Scott
MS 99-92	Papers of Fabian Sperry
MS 2003-72	Papers of George Thomson
MS 2003-85	Diary of Harry Williams

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Documents 15245	Diary written by an Anonymous Ambulance Driver
Documents 3453	Memoir of E. C. Barraclough
Documents 15006	Diary of William Barry
Documents 6481	Diaries of Percy Botting
Documents 12116	Diary of Anthony Brennan
Documents 7332	Account of Captain Charles Brett
Documents 6711	Diary of C. D. W. Burgess
Documents 12139	Account of Lieutenant Douglas Burn
Documents 17091	Account of Walter Carr
Documents 3212	Diary of Walter Chapman
Documents 8515	Memoir of Andrew Charles
Documents 8885	Documents on Chinese Attacks during the Third Battle of Ypres,
1917	
Documents 13367	Memoir of T. H. Craig
Documents 1862	Letters of Brigadier General Ernest Craig-Brown
Documents 16892	Memoir of George Crew
Documents 129	Diary of R. Cude
Documents 5566	Letters to Miss D. Daubeney
Documents 20365	Papers of Major Percy Devenish
Documents 14968	Diary and Letters of 2nd Lieutenant Reginald Donald
Documents 11916	Diaries of Major J. E. Dowling

Documents 17182	Letters of Captain Arthur English
Documents 17189	Letters from 2nd Lieutenant Frederick English
Documents 17181	Letters of Lieutenant Henry English
Documents 15468	Autograph Book and Papers of J. K. Findlay
Documents 7498	Photograph Albums of Miss K Forrest
Documents 17158	Diary of Edward Flynn
Documents 16413	Official Papers relating to Alexander Forbes
Documents 6802	Letters of S. and B. George
Documents 14424	Letters of Captain Reginald Gill
Documents 10995	Diaries of Captain E. A. Godson MC
Documents 15908	Letters of Captain B. Gregory
Documents 7242	Diary of Major Kenneth Gresson
Documents 12213	Letters and diary of Miss Elsie Grey
Documents 5515	Memoir of Eric Hames
Documents 11734	Letter from Harry Hamilton
Documents 10521	Letters of Captain D. F. Heath
Documents 14632	Diary of G. F. H. Heenan
Documents 11045	Memoir of A. E. Henderson
Documents 14179	Diary of Thomas Hickman
Documents 9601	Diaries and letters of Miss A Hills
Documents 9964	Imperial Camel Corps Documents, 1917-1918
Documents 7072	Letters of 2nd Lieutenant A. M. Jameson
Documents 9899	Diary of Captain P. W. Kerr
Documents 8129	Diary of William King
Documents 13581	Diary of H. J. Lavell
Documents 16131	Letters of Michael Lennon
Documents 14935	Letter from A. A. Long
Documents 13421	Letters of Lieutenant Colonel Arthur MacGregor
Documents 16151	Letters of Captain M. R. Mahoney
Documents 9984	Diaries of Captain A. M. McGrigor
Documents 5593	Letters of Misses Ada McGuire
Documents 5537	Journal of John McIlwain
Documents 22065	Account of Robert McKay
Documents 11176	Letters of 2nd Lieutenant C. G. Meudell
Documents 14230	Account of F. E. Miskin
Documents 7845	Official Documents of 2nd Lieutenant E. Moss
Documents 10404	Letters of R. D. Mountfort
Documents 6867	Diary of Alison Mullineaux
Documents 12330	Private Papers of Stanley Natusch
Documents 13253	Letters of Ellis Newton
Documents 13639	Nurses' Autograph Books
Documents 7700	Nurse's Autograph Books Containing Contributions by the West Indian Contingent
Documents 11247	Diary of Lieutenant Colonel J. B. Parks
Documents 6688	Diaries of A. E. Pfeifer
Documents 16703	Memoirs of Herbert Reed
Documents 17132	Diary of Reginald Roberson
Documents 16812	Diary of William Robson
Documents 11350	Letters of A. Ross

Documents 12492	Papers of Lieutenant General Sir Dudley Russell
Documents 16373	Diary of 2nd Lieutenant Edward Ryburn
Documents 12000	Diary of Charles Saunders
Documents 16343	Letters of G. L. Seary
Documents 4945	Diaries and notebooks of a Second Lieutenant
Documents 22179	Letters of Captain Thomas Sherwood
Documents 2063	Account of T. J. Simpson
Documents 16458	Letters of E. E. Smith
Documents 12350	Soldier's Sketch Books, First World War
Documents 8011-10	Diary of Miss Marjorie Starr
Documents 20504	Diaries of Lieutenant William St Leger
Documents 7270	Diary of Colonel P. G. Stock
Documents 20675	Memoir of Bert Stokes
Documents 3443	Diaries of Thomas Tester
Documents 8236	Memoir of Marjorie Thomas
Documents 13590	Diary of F. E. Tipper
Documents 19697	Letters of Herbert Tuck
Documents 11751	Diary of Miss M. L. P. Tuckett
Documents 9895	Papers of Lieutenant Colonel R. B. Turner
Documents 16062	Diary of R. N. Vanes
Documents 14153	Letters from Lieutenant Maurice Vyvyan
Documents 7976	Letters of Lieutenant Frederick Brian Wade
Documents 16651	Diary of Captain Charles Weld MC
Documents 7366	Letters of C. E. E. Wells
Documents 13193	Letter from Mrs C. Williams
Documents 11515	Memoir of James Williamson
Documents 19036	Diary of Herbert Williamson

- National Army Museum New Zealand, Waiohuru, New Zealand

1999-1086	Anonymous Account.
1989.689	Letters of Private A.R. Bailey
MSS-038	Diary of Norman Coop
1986.1644	Diary of William Dundon
1996.612	Diary of 2nd Lieutenant Edwin Greatbatch
2010.91.1	Letters of Peter Mackay
1991. 2781	Letters of William Malcolm
1999.3229	Letters of Percival McIntosh
2005.887	Diary of Garland Oswald Morgan
MSS-058	Papers of Harry O'Donnell Bourke
	Personal Recollections of Alfred Stratton
1999.1086	Account of Private James Swan

- The National Archives, Kew, London.

Selections from:

Cabinet Office Papers

CAB 23	War Cabinet Minutes, December 1916 – October 1919
CAB 37	Cabinet Papers
CAB 42	War Council and Successors

Colonial Office Papers

CO 28	Barbados Original Correspondence
CO 209	New Zealand Original Correspondence
CO 210	New Zealand Acts
CO 213	New Zealand Miscellanea
CO 285	Tobago Original Correspondence
CO 291	Transvaal Original Correspondence
CO 295	Trinidad Original Correspondence
CO 318	West Indies Original Correspondence
CO 321	Windward Islands Original Correspondence
CO 323	General Correspondence
CO 532	Dominions Original Correspondence
CO 537	Confidential Correspondence
CO 551	Union of South Africa Original Correspondence

War Office Papers

WO 32	Registered Files
WO 95	World War I and army of occupation war diaries
WO 107	Quartermaster General's Department: Correspondence
WO 158	Military Headquarters: Correspondence and Papers, First World War
WO 161	Miscellaneous Unregistered Papers, First World War

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MS 380241 Photocopy of typescript variant of 'H Selby Msimang Looks Back'

Newspapers and Magazines

The African Times and Orient Review

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New Zealand at the Front

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Photographs

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Ministry of Information First World War Official Collection

Australian First World War Official Exchange Collection

Australian Forces in Gallipoli, 1915-1916

New Zealand Forces on the Western Front, 1917-1918

Collection of Major K. M. Gresson

- Auckland War Memorial Museum: Online digitised collections
- Australian War Memorial: Online digitised collections
- Alexander Turnbull Library

PA1- o-828	Photographs from the estates of Joseph and Frank Duncan
PAColl-8921	Horopapera Karauti, 1878-1932: Photographs of family, Te Aute, and World War 1 soldiers
PAColl-7080-2	Hospital ships, soldiers, and nurses
PAColl-0544	Evelyn Young: Photographs of World War I, including Gallipoli
PAColl-9548-23	New Zealand and World War One postcards
PAColl-0400-1	Photographs relating to nursing in World War I
PAColl-7080-3	Soldiers and nurses in England and a visit to the war zone.

PAColl-5707	Photographs of the New Zealand Army's entertainment troop, the Digger Pierrots
PAColl-8921-3	Family photographs and World War One soldiers
PAColl-7080-5	Soldiers, nurses, and people on board a ship

Films

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IWM 1178	Defenders of Egypt (1916)
IWM 14	Allenby in Cairo
IWM 196	Review Of New Zealand Troops By Sir Walter Long
IWM 3	An Egyptian Labour Contingent
IWM 440(1-8)	Our Empire's Fight for Freedom - Part 4
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IWM 269	Visit Of The Hon W. Massey and Sir J. Ward To The Western Front, 30 June 1918 – 2 July 1918.

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<http://www.mwme.eu>
 New Zealand Electronic Text Collection: <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz>
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